

FIVE LETTERS

TO

LORD SHEFFIELD,

On his Speech at Lewes Wool-Fair, 26 July, 1815.

INTENDED TO SHOW,

1. That the real cause of the distress of the Farmers is not to be looked for in the low price of Wool and Grain, nor in the existence of Tythes; 2. That his Lordship's hopes of a more flourishing trade in consequence of the devastations in other countries are fallacious; 3. That Manufactures of all kinds are carried on to a great extent in America, and that Machinery has been there put into use with great success in the making of Woollen and Cotton goods; 4. That so extensive is the growth of American Wool, that some of that Wool is exported to England, and that though the importation of Wool is great in proportion to the whole quantity used, to impose a tax upon importation would be injurious to the country; 5. That the situation of England, compared with that of America, is such, and the inducements to emigration so great, that, in order to preserve our Manufactures, not only ought there to be no tax imposed on Wool imported, but that the Corn Bill ought to be repealed.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

LETTER I.

Intended to show, that the real cause of the distress of the Farmers is not to be looked for in the low price of Wool and Grain, nor in the existence of Tythes.

Botley, 9 August, 1815.

MY LORD—Your Lordship's speech, or report, to the Wool-growers, at the late fair at Lewes, pressing invites me to offer some remarks on it; an invitation which I the more readily accept, as it will, for an hour or two, at least, waft my readers and myself, in the respectable company of your Lordship, away from the degrading and abominable scenes of Europe, to a country, where mankind seem likely to live unyoked for a century yet to come, and where we may yet hope to see arise the means of avenging, in time, the cause of the oppressed.

Your Lordship expresses your disappointment that the prosperity of the wool-trade has not returned: "I had," say you, "flattered myself that after the failure of the American embargo and non-importation measures, and also of Buonaparte's attempts by decrees to ruin our trade, and that the difficulties respecting our foreign intercourse were removed, that the trade in wool and woolens would return to its former state, and proceed steadily, as heretofore; but the mischief I had foreseen, and had repeatedly represented, as also the necessity of checking that mischief, has increased in a most extraordinary degree, and infinitely beyond even what had been apprehended."

I will stop here, for a moment, to observe, that you have omitted any mention of the American war. You will see, by and by, that the American embargo and

non-importation measures were *not* attended with a *failure*. You will see, that they had the wonderful effect of assisting in creating flocks of Merino sheep, manufactories of cloth, cotton, linen, iron, steel, leather, gun-powder, &c. &c. and in the construction of machinery of all sorts. This I shall show you by and by; but, amongst the causes of the depression of wool, why not mention the *American war*? That war lasted longer than the embargo and non-importation measures. It was far more complete in its operation; and yet you pass it over in silence. My opinion is, that you would not have passed it over in silence, if the events and the result of it had not been what they were. If these had not demonstrated to the world the excellence of free government, I am persuaded, that you would have put this war in the list of the impediments to the wool-trade. The omission, however, as far as related to your auditors, was perfectly safe; and, if you had ascribed the fall of their produce to the malignity of the *stars*, they would have been just as attentive and just as full of belief as you had the happiness to find them.

Your remedy for *this evil of low price of wool* is the old remedy: a *tax on all wool imported*. To be sure: as the hop-growers of Farnham would, if they could, have an additional tax put upon the hops of Kent; and as farmer Gripen would have all the wheat in the country blighted, except his own. You say, that the same arguments that were made use of in defence of the Corn Bill will apply with equal force to a Wool Bill; and here you are very right. But, you should have shown, that those arguments were sound; and, not having done this, you only said that a wool bill would be as wise and as just as a measure, against which petitions were presented from every part of the country, and which was, towards the period of its adoption, discussed with regular troops drawn up round the House of Commons.

If, when his Majesty, in his wisdom, was pleased to confer a title on your Lordship, he had, at the same time, endowed you with a capacity to embrace, in one view, the whole of the interests of a community, to comprehend and to develope

abstruse matters of political economy, he would have provided you with a shield against criticism, which, when you venture into the press, that bare title does not afford you. As yet, whatever we find in print about *wool*, at any rate, we may freely comment on; and, your Lordship will be so good as to excuse me, if, upon this occasion, I should sometimes seem to forget the *Lord*, while I am answering the *author*. I am about to lead your Lordship into new scenes. The sight, which it is my intention to open to your view, is one of such novelty and such grandeur; I am about to exhibit to you proofs of such astonishing enterprise and improvement; such a wonderful revolution in the most important affairs of human life; that I must beseech you to call to your aid, if possible, an expansion of mind commensurate with the interest and the magnitude of the subject.

But, before I venture to lift you to this point of elevation, let us, if you please, discuss the subject of your projected wool-bill; let us, before we cross the Atlantic and the Aegæan, see if we can come to something like common sense on the question which you have now again set in agitation.

You see the farmers distressed; you see them breaking; you see the newspapers filled with notices of sales of their effects. The immediate cause of this is the want of money. *The cause of that want*, however, you do not seem to understand; and, if you do understand it, you keep it out of sight. You say it is the *low price of their produce*; you would, therefore, compel the mass of the people to pay them a *higher price*, not seeming to reflect, that, if you could succeed, you would only produce, in other classes of men, just that quantity of distress and ruin, of which you wish to relieve the farmer. If your Lordship was attacked by a ruffian, who aimed at putting out one of your eyes, and were to aim at your left eye, should you think you had done much by warding his bayonet from that eye to have it thrust into the other?

But, my Lord, the *foundation* of your reasoning, if reasoning it must be called, is unsound; namely, that the distress of

the farmer arises from the *low price* of his produce. In the time of Mr. TULL, that is to say, seventy years ago, wheat was *five shillings a bushel*. It is now *from eight to nine shillings a bushel*. If low price be ruin, how could farmers have lived in his time? It is not, then, *positive* low price, it is *relative* low price, which, not to deny you very confined common sense, I must understand you to mean. Well, then, can you show, or can any man living show, that labour, tackle, horses, and seed, do not *always* bear, upon an average of even a very few years, an exact proportion to the price of wheat? In Mr. TULL's time wheat was five shillings a bushel, and the price of reaping an acre of wheat was five shillings. Wheat is now from eight to nine shillings a bushel; and the price of reaping of an acre of wheat, in this part of England, is nine shillings. In other parts it must be much less, labour being always higher here than in almost any other part of the kingdom. This is the price that I and my neighbours are actually giving at this moment. As to the present day, I state facts that are notorious; and, as to the age of Mr. TULL, thousands have his work in their hands.

If, therefore, from the very nature of the thing itself, it were possible that the price of labour (including smiths, wheel-rights, and horses) should *not* descend and ascend, step for step, with that of wheat, which, upon an average of years, is the standard of the price of all other products of the earth, we have proof positive, that such has not been the case in our own country. How, then, must that mind be constructed; how narrow its views; or how perverted its faculties, which can see the cause of ruin to the farmer in the low price of his produce?

You ascribe his ruin to the *want of a sufficiency of money*. Right so far; but, there are *two* ways in which a want of a sufficiency of money may come: the first is by not receiving a sufficiency: the other by the disproportionate greatness of the demands upon what is received. The man who has five hundred a year may be in no want of money; while he who has twenty thousand a year may become a bankrupt. The farmer always does, because he must, receive enough money proportioned to the

labour on his farm: its receipts and expenditures here regulate each other with the greatest correctness: but, if there be a demander of money, whose demands never lower with prices; who pays no respect to seasons or any other circumstances; who comes for large sums many times in the year; who will not wait a moment; who needs none of the usual forms of law to obtain payment, but who, at once, lays hold of the crop or the utensils; and, withal, whose demands are continually increasing: if there be such a creditor, it is very clear, that, as prices fall, the farmer must sink into ruin.

Now, has not the English farmer such a creditor? His taxes, direct and indirect, far exceed the amount of all his other outgoings. Let us suppose, then, a man on his own land, who paid a hundred pounds a year for labour and a hundred and fifty pounds in taxes, when wheat was eighteen shillings a bushel. He was then able to live. If the wheat be nine shillings a bushel, his labour will cost him fifty pounds, and if his taxes fell down to 75 pounds, he would be still where he was. But his taxes continue to be 150. It is manifest, therefore, that the taxes, and the taxes *only*, are the cause of his ruin.

Your Lordship does, indeed, *allude* incidentally to our taxes; but, then, this allusion is accompanied with nothing to induce the belief that you wished to point the attention of your hearers towards them as a *cause* of that ruin, of which you were speaking; much less do you hint at any hope of relief in this all important respect. You say: "If the landed interest (in which I include the land-occupier) will *not make known its grievance*, it cannot expect attention *or redress*, and it will be responsible for the ruin that will fall on the growth of fine wool. For if the wool of all countries, *untaxed and untithed*, is to be poured in upon us without restriction, every man the least acquainted with the subject will agree with me that it never can be worth while to raise fine wool in this kingdom; and the agriculturist will aim only at *quantity, neglecting the quality* of the wool."

Here, again, what a jumble of ideas! Why should he aim at *quantity* if his

prices are depressed by any cause, no matter what, seeing that, upon an average, the coarse *must* bear a proportion in price to the fine? These are notions which might be excused in a farmer or a wool-merchant; but they become not one, who sets himself up as a political economist. They belong to the sheep-fold and the carding house. How nature has been thwarted. What mischief has been done by perverse man's setting her laws at defiance!

But, my Lord, you talk of *grievance* and of *redress*, and then you talk of the "*untaxed and untythed*" wool of other countries. Was it not then to be expected, that you were going to propose to make other nations adopt our taxes and tythes, or, to induce our government to remove them? Neither of these do you propose, however; but, in their stead, a tax, more tax, to be paid on our coats and blankets, and on the goods which our manufacturers export. And, then, the *confounding* of *taxes* and *tythes* as the cause of relative expensiveness; as the cause of the English farmer's inability to contend with foreigners; though not calculated to excite surprise when coming from the lips of a vulgar, uninformed farmer, it is so grossly absurd that it really fills me with shame at hearing it uttered by an English gentleman. During six centuries the land of England has yielded tythes; and, surely, English farmers have seen prosperous days! If the farmer did not yield tythe, would he not pay the full worth of it in additional *rent*? Where, then, is, where *can be*, the difference to him? If the purchaser of an estate were not to yield tythe, would he not pay the full worth of it in the purchase money? Where, then, can be the difference to him? Far otherwise is it with the taxes. These are not of six centuries standing, and hardly of six years. They are a clear addition to the out-goings of the farmer; their amount, like that of the tythe, is not proportioned to the value

of the crop; but keeps always to its full height whether the crop be small or great, dear or cheap. If, indeed, you had spoken of tythes as the means of supporting a body of men, having enormous weight in the state, and invariably, *as a body*, ranging that weight on the side of political and military power, you would have spoken of them in a manner becoming a gentleman of liberal ideas; but, to point them out as a cause of the ruin of the farmer, and that, too, in a mere pecuniary point of view, was to emulate the conduct of those grudging and unfeeling clowns, who and whose wives have all along been bawling for war in the cause of "*Religion and Social Order*;" who have been branding as *Jacobins* all those that wished to see an end to that war; and which clowns, groaning at last, under its consequences, now, like the much-more-to-be-pitied canine unfortunate, unconscious of the real cause of their sufferings, fly for vengeance on all that falls in their way.

Still, I have taken but a very limited view of the subject. Yet, if your Lordship's head turn at the first step of the stair-case, how am I to get you to the top of Saint Paul's? The task is hopeless. Unable, therefore, to stretch your mind to the measure of such a view; unable to make you capable of seeing, how, even the taxes laid upon the farmer affect him *no more than they affect all the other classes of the community, except those who live upon those taxes*, and that it is a *general* and not a *partial*, a *lasting* and not a *temporary*, depression that the nation now feels; unable to accomplish this object, I shall proceed to that part of your speech, where you express your expectation of *speedily seeing an extraordinary demand for wool*. This, however, must be the subject of another letter.—I am, your Lordships' most obedient servant,

WM. COBRETT.

LETTER II.

Intended to show, that his Lordship's hopes of a more flourishing trade, in consequence of the devastations in other countries, are fallacious.

MY LORD,—After expressing your disappointment that prosperity had not returned to the wool-trade in consequence of the “*failure*” of the American *embargo* and *non-importation* laws, and the cessation of the “*continental-system*” of Napoleon; after skipping over nearly three years of war with America, a strange skip on the part of a person who became known to the literary world by his writings on American navigation and commerce; after ascribing the low price of wool and other produce here, and the consequent depression of the farmer, to the importation of produce from abroad, grown on untaxed and untythed lands; after exhorting the landlords and farmers to apply for a *law* to make foreign wool pay a duty, or, in other words to make foreign wool higher priced in England, instead of exhorting them to apply for the abolition of tythes and the reduction of taxes, which the premises seemed to point to as the only rational conclusion: after all this, your Lordship comes to *new grounds of hope*; you discover, in the fall of Napoleon and in the present state of foreign nations, “sufficient ground to expect an extraordinary demand for wool.”

The passage, I alluded to, is as follows: “But I should add, that there is *sufficient ground to expect an extraordinary demand for wool* in consequence of the complete subjugation of those who have so long *disturbed* the world and *deranged* its commerce. France, and the other countries *which have been overrun by desolating armies*, are *exhausted*, and will not immediately re-establish their former occupations, and *settle to manufactures*, it is therefore most probable there will be a very unusual demand for those of woollen, not only from the countries alluded to, but also for those countries which *used to be supplied from those parts which have been ravaged by war.*”

Whether it discover any great degree of benevolence, and whether it be wise in an

Englishman, thus to describe the hope of our prosperity as built on the devastation and misery produced in other countries by wars, by invasions, of which it is well known that we even boast of having been, by the means of our money, the principal cause; whether this discovers much benevolence and wisdom in an Englishman I leave others to decide. But, I think myself able to show, able to convince any rational man, that your Lordship is as much deceived in your present expectations as events have proved you to have been in your expectations of four years ago.

The “extraordinary demand for wool,” which you anticipate, is to arise from the *exhausted* state of other countries. Now, my Lord, we will leave *America* aside for separate observation; and then let me ask you, whether Spain, Saxony, Silesia, Holland, Sweden, are *less* likely to grow wool *now*, than they were *three years ago*? France never exported wool. Whatever may be the *political* evils now to be expected, is there any reason to suppose, that the continent of Europe, *settled in peace*, will not grow as much wool as it has grown during its years of war? What then, as far as Europe is concerned in the *growth* of wool, is to cause an “extraordinary demand” for our farmer’s wool?

But, the benignant armies have devastated in such a way, that other nations will not “soon settle to manufactures,” and, therefore, woollens will be wanted from England to supply the place of those which were formerly made abroad. Does your Lordship think that we shall thresh the *French* into the wearing of our woollens? And, do you think, that the *exhausting* of the nations of Europe, that is to say, the making of them *poor*, will tend to make them *better customers* than formerly? You should not think so, seeing that you tell your hearers, that the ruin of the farmer produces that of the tradesman, seeing that the former is the *customer* of the latter. Observation had enabled you to reason correctly enough

upon what was passing just under your nose; but, you appear not to have been able sufficiently to enlarge your mind to extend that same reasoning to a larger scale.

Besides, supposing your notion of the suspension of continental manufactures to be correct, does not that notion make directly against your main hope; namely, an increase in the price of wool at home? If those manufactures were to be wholly suspended, the *whole* of the wool of the continent must come here; and, would *that* tend to enhance the price of wool in England? Thus it ever is with a mind incapable of enlarged views. It catches hold of detached ideas; it puts them forth one at a time without combination; it gets entangled in confusion and absurdity.

But, your Lordship appears to me to be completely in error even as to the devastating effects of war and invasion. The injuries of invasion are great, very great; but, as has been proved by numerous examples, these injuries are seldom of lasting duration. Armies pillage, rob, violate, murder; but, in a country of any considerable extent and population, they can actually commit these violences only on a comparatively small part of the property and persons. In the invasions of Napoleon he always took care, not only to protect, but to cherish and promote, every science and every art. He hoped to remain master of the greater part of his conquests, and, therefore, he every where favoured the pursuits of industry. The agriculture and manufactures of Germany suffered but little from his irruptions. He *dispersed* indeed, but he did not *destroy*, the flocks of Spain. While he left a sufficiency behind, his invasion stocked many other countries in Europe with fine woolled sheep; and, as I shall by and by show you, the United States of America. The two staple commodities, in all countries, are, *man* and the *earth*. From these all the rest arise. Numbers are killed in wars; but what are two or three millions, and that is beyond all computation, when compared with the population of Europe? The earth, the climate, cannot be changed. The character of a people for industry, cannot be changed very suddenly. Men cannot be made to for-

get what they know. Invading armies oppress and often murder; but, the invaded soon revive, unless some dead weight on them be left behind. Belgium, the theatre of everlasting wars, conquered and re-conquered many times in every century, has always continued to be the most populous and most flourishing part of Europe, even the environs of London not excepted. The United States of America, invaded by English and German armies in every quarter; all their cities and towns alternately taken; a formidable division amongst the people themselves; intestine as well as foreign war assailing them at one and the same time; a government without credit and without money, not only carried their point in war, but, as soon as peace returned, started at once in a career of prosperity that astonished the world, and that completely falsified all the predictions of those, who had foretold that feebleness would be the consequence of their independence, amongst which foretellers your Lordship occupied a distinguished place.

I have not yet heard it proposed to burn the several manufactories in France. The *Times* and *Courier* newspapers recommend the murder of a great number of people; applaud the requisitions imposed upon the French; would have the country dismembered; but, I have not heard even them point out the burning of the manufactories, though, perhaps, they look upon that as understood amongst "*the measures necessary to the security of England*." But, even this would answer us no profitable purpose. These manufactories would soon rise up again; and, if they did not, France would be supplied from other countries than this. If from this, our payment must be in *her produce*. She would rise again quickly in one way or another; and, nothing that we can do against her will have any very *durable* effect as to her prosperity, while every day of war is adding to those taxes, which are the real cause of the depression, of which your Lordship complains, and of which no man living expects ever to see any diminution, except as the consequence of an event, of which most men turn from the contemplation as something too distressing for the mind to endure. England, in following the advice of the writers I have

mentioned above, might still add much to the sufferings of her neighbours ; she might lacerate and tear them a good deal, but still the terrible and incurable disease, which she has contracted during the war, would cling to her bowels, and, in the work of palsyng her limbs, would only be assisted by the prolonging of a state of hostility.

One would have imagined, that past experience with regard to France herself would have prevented your Lordship from indulging such fond hopes of seeing other nations *ruined* by devastating armies. The first ten years of her revolution drove all the great proprietors from their houses ; stripped them of their estates ; reduced all the opulent merchants to beggary ; ruined all the manufacturers and broke up their concerns ; produced a bankruptcy of the government ; laid the people under contributions. Yet, how did we find France in 1814 ? So full of prosperity ; so rich ; with so little debt ; with such improved agriculture and such flourishing manufactures, that we were compelled to pass a law to stop the importation of her corn, while she stood in no need of either our woollens, linens, or cottons. Nay, it is the recollection of the *evidences of prosperity, that we then saw*, which is now urging on our base and foolish writers to call for her destruction by means of German armies in our pay.

What becomes, then, of your Lordship's hope ? What becomes of the "good ground" of your new expectation ? Even NOW : already, while there is a civil war in France ; while half a million of English and German soldiers are there, living at free-quarter ; even from the Departments where some of those soldiers are, the French are now, at this very moment, bringing in their butter, poultry, eggs, fruit, &c. &c. to *Potsmouth* and *Southampton* ; and, after paying a duty upon them, selling them at less than half the price at which we can afford to sell similar articles ! To throw such a country back, to make it tributary to our agriculture and manufactures, even for one year, would require the power of the Deity and the malignity ascribed to the Devil ; and, though there are persons enough, who manifestly possess the latter, they are, happily for mankind, not in possession of the former.

If, then, there be so little foundation for your hope with regard to Europe, on what can you build that hope on the other side of the Atlantic ? But, I will reserve the discussion of this question as the subject of another Letter, it being of too much importance to be mixed, in any way, with inferior matter.—I am, your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER III.

Intended to show, that Manufactures of all kinds are carried on to a great extent in America, and that Machinery has been put into use with great success in the making of Woolen and Cotton goods.

MY LORD,—It is America to which I now solicit the honour of calling your attention. If you will oblige me by laying aside, for only half an hour, your solid columns of exports and imports, your laborious details of outward and inward trade, your two-and-two-penny and three-and-three-penny accounts of wool prices, I promise to lead you into scenes of such novelty, such enterprise, and such interest, as shall make you forget, for the time, the tyranny and cruelty, the meanness and baseness, the profligacy, the perfidy, and the hypocrisy, now acting upon the theatre of Europe.

You, my Lord, wrote a book, soon after the first American war, the objects of which were, to point out the means of *keeping back* the navigation and commerce of America, and to shew, that she could not become a manufacturing country : I was of this latter opinion about six years ago only. Three years of embargo and non-importations and dispersions of Spanish flocks convinced me of my error, which, as soon as I perceived it, I hastened to retract ; and, before the last war began, I endeavoured to convince our Ministers, that if they still persisted in their right to impress persons out of

American ships on the high seas, they would, in the space of a few years, find manufactures rising up in America that would astonish them. In short, I predicted, in my Letters to the Prince Regent, *before the war began*, that, if he did enter on that war, he would, at the end of *seven years*, render the United States wholly independent of England for manufactures; or, at least, *enable her to dispense* with English manufactures.

The war did not last *three years*, and yet this important revolution in human affairs was accomplished; and, be you assured, my Lord, that it will form an epoch in the annals of the world.

But, *how* shall I convince your Lordship that what I say is *true*? That is the great point. *Hearsay* regarding a country at such a distance is nothing. A newspaper account would not be much better. A book written by some American might mislead; for writers have a point to carry, a doctrine to establish, an opponent to beat, or a bias, at any rate, to yield to. Even an *official* account, published by the American government, *might* be incorrect and overcharged; for your Lordship and I have seen many such accounts in England. What am I to do, then? Bring some persons who have been upon the spot and have actually *seen* what they describe? I have no such persons at hand. I have not a single American acquaintance; and, besides, I live out of the world. How, then, am I to convince your Lordship, that the Merino Flocks; the Fulling Mills, some going by steam and some by water; that the Cloth Manufactories; that the Cotton Manufactories; that the Spinning Jennies; that the Iron Mills; that Wire Manufactories; that Crockery-ware Manufactories; that the Powder Mills, Cannon Foundries; that the Manufactories of Flax and Hemp; and that a great many others, and all others, as far as I know, exist in America? Why, my Lord, since you will believe nothing but *your own eyes*, for which I do not blame you; and, as I cannot take you to America, I will *send* the Merino Flocks, the Manufactories, and the Bales of Goods, *into Sussex* to you.

I have taken a parcel of American newspapers, that came to me altogether about

a month ago, and which were published in February, March, April and May last, or the greater part of them. I have cut out of these *advertisements* of Merino Sheep, &c. &c. **FOR SALE**. They come, as you will see, from almost *every State in the Union*. Some are from Boston, some Baltimore, some Philadelphia, some from New York, some from Albany, some from Pittsburgh; thus embracing what may fairly be deemed the *whole country*. And, besides, these newspapers have come to me quite promiscuously. They have been sent by persons whom I do not know, and without any other motive than that of showing me civility. Of some of these papers I have only a single number; of others two; of others nine or ten. From *Pittsburgh* I have only one number, and that is of a paper called the *Commonwealth*; and yet, in this one paper, matter is contained sufficient to establish all I say.

This is certainly a *new* way of describing the state of the manufactures of a country; but, really, I do not know of any other so good. To make such a description correctly, a man must go himself to collect information all over a country. The difficulties of doing this are many and great. Here we ask no questions, rely on no reports, listen to no stories, expose ourselves to no deception. We *know* that these advertisements *speak of things that are*. We have here, indeed, merely a **SPECIMEN** of what is going on. Out of *three or four hundred American newspapers*, I have received and quoted from only about *eight or nine*. What, then, must the *whole* of them present? Besides, we are not to suppose, that a quarter part of the factories and goods, &c. &c. are mentioned in any paper at all. So that, what we have here is a mere **SPECIMEN**; but, it is quite sufficient to enable us to form a sound judgment upon the subject.

That I have *fabricated* these advertisements is not to be believed. I could not have invented so many names, dates, and circumstances. Besides, I put the name and date of each particular newspaper. If falsely, I am exposed to detection on both sides of the water, many of the papers being in other hands, in England, as well as mine. No: the advertisements

must be genuine; and they form one of those masses of presumptive evidence, which is preferable to any positive proof upon oath.

Your Lordship will soon see, that, in some of the advertisements, American goods and English goods both are offered for sale. I wished to leave each advertisement *entire*, just as I found it. I have only further to observe here, reserving my further remarks till by and by, that I have not thought it necessary to follow any particular order in placing the several advertisements. They are placed in the order in which they happened to fall under my scissors. They form, as they stand here, an undigested mass of evidence; but, it is evidence of that sort, which is impossible to fail of producing conviction. *Attention* in the perusal is all that is wanted. I shall *number* the advertisements for the sake of more easy reference in my subsequent remarks.

No. I.

*From the Philadelphia Democratic Press,
13 February, 1815.*

FOR SALE, A VALUABLE COTTON MANU- FACTORY.

SITUATE in the County of Philadelphia on the Bustleton turnpike road, ten miles from the city, and upon the Pennepack creek. There are on the premises, one three story stone mill 40 by 45 feet, having therein 660 spindles, with the necessary preparing machinery—one frame mill occupied as a blade mill, one mansion house with convenient outbuildings, seven stone houses substantially built, the greater part new, conveniently adapted for workmen, one weaving shop 60 by 20 feet, one substantial new frame building 3 1-2 stories high, 28 feet by 33 feet, the lower story of which is fitted up as a weaving shop; the second as a store and counting house, the remainder as bed rooms, together with

25 ACRES OF GOOD LAND.

Any capitalist disposed to enter into a lucrative business will find here a favourable opportunity.

The distance is short from the city—the seat capable to drive 3000 spindles, the road turnpiked, the neighbourhood populous, and producing the necessary labourers for the manufactory. The country fertile, healthy, and pleasant.

Apply on the premises to

Thos. F. Gordon.

I cannot resist the temptation to indulge myself, before I go any further, in a few remarks upon this advertisement. I am here at home. In this *Bustleton* I lived for some time. My most intimate

friends were the principal landowners of the spot. Upon the banks of this *Pennepack* Creek I have, I verily believe, shot at more Partridges than there were English and Hanoverian soldiers sent against America during the last war. What was my surprize at seeing (for here I really see it) a *Cotton Manufactory* upon the *Pennepack* on the *Bustleton Turnpike Road* and in a *populous neighbourhood*! Fifteen years ago, there was not a turnpike road, and, as far as I can recollect, there were but *eleven houses of all sorts within a mile* of the spot here described. *Bustleton* is on the level, after rising the hill from the Creek; and, I believe, the principal part of the land on both sides of the road, was owned by my friend THOMAS PAUL. He was a Quaker, a sensible, active, and most benevolent and public-spirited man. He was about to erect a *School-House* when I came away; but his town contained only his own house, a tavern which was his, a large house which he had built for a Doctor, and, I believe, two or three small houses besides. Yet, we see, not only that there is at this place a cotton manufactory, but a *populous neighbourhood*, capable of supplying it with hands. Before I have done, I shall show you how towns grow up in America. Thus it is that men flourish and increase in a soil of freedom. Taking it for granted, that you will believe these details about *Bustleton* and the *Pennepack* to be true, seeing that, if false, I expose myself to the contempt of all America, I shall now proceed, without interruption to the insertion of the Advertisements.

No. II.

From Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Philadelphia, 4th May, 1815.

FULL BLOODED MERINO SHEEP.

AT PUBLIC SALE,

ONE HUNDRED EWES,

THE principal part of which have Lambs, will be offered at public sale, on, the 16th day of the 3d month next, (March) at half past 2 o'clock, at Elmfield Sheep Walk, near the Rising Sun, on the Germantown Road, about four miles from Philadelphia. An opportunity like the present has rarely been offered to those who are desirous of possessing this valuable animal or of improving their stock. The Flocks, of which these are a part, is so celebrated, that it is deemed almost

unnecessary to say any thing respecting it, more especially as it is expected that those who may wish to purchase will examine the Sheep, when they will at once be satisfied of their genuineness and superiority. Great pains have been bestowed on them and frequent selections made of those that could be considered inferior.

No. III.

From the Boston Repertory, 15th March, 1815.

Spinning Machinery,

UPON a new and *exceedingly* improved construction, requiring only FIVE persons to do the same quantity of work that requires at least TWENTY persons to do, and saves much of the cotton which is unavoidably wasted in the usual method.

In addition to these advantages in the newly invented machinery, it requires much less power, less space, and the cotton comes out much more equal.

The new and elegant establishment at Waltham contains 700 spindles upon the improved construction; and the most respectable and satisfactory references can be adduced of their giving COMPLETE SATISFACTION.

Individuals or companies who are about establishing new or rebuilding their old machinery, will find it to their advantage to call at Mr. JOHN M. DEARBORN'S Machine and Balance Store, No. 3, Harris' Building's Water-street, Boston, who will give any further information upon the subject and who has authority to dispose of Rights to individuals, companies, towns, counties, or states.

No. IV.

From the Rhode Island Republican, 15th March, 1815.

WOOLEN MANUFACTORY.

THE Subscribers deem it proper to inform the public, that they have formed themselves into a Company for MANUFACTURING PURPOSES, and having erected a building, &c. on a mill privilege, recently owned by Joseph & Benjamin Mott, in Portsmouth, (R. I.) about 8 miles on the west road, from Newport, have assumed the appellation of the

Enterprize Manufacturing Company. and have appointed EDWARD W. LAWTON, agent in Newport, and committed to PHILIP ANTHONY the charge of their concerns at the Factory in Portsmouth.

They wish likewise to inform, that they shall have ready for operation in a few days, a sett of machines for

Carding Merino and common Sheep's WOOL.

which they intend to perform in the best manner, at the customary prices.—Those who favour them with custom, will please to leave their Wool either at the Factory, or at the store of EDWARD W. LAWTON, in Newport.

As the quality of the Carding depends much on having the Wool clean, and in good order, they beg leave to request of their customers, that they pay particular attention to that point.

PHILIP ANTHONY,
HARVEY SESSIONS,

GEORGE ENGS,
EDWARD W. LAWTON.

⚡ A Machine for picking and cleaning Wool, (which will be done at the usual price) is added to the above.

No. V.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3d May, 1815.

COTTON YARN,

For Sale at the Baltimore Manufacturing Company's Warehouse,

197, MARKET STREET,

OF ALL NUMBERS

From No. 4, to No. 40.

Of a quality equal to any made.

"From the quality of the Machinery, and the improved plan of their whole works," country merchants will find considerable advantage to call and look at the Yarn.

⚡ They have also on hand, and are daily receiving from their Looms,

PLAIDS,
STRIPES,
GINGHAMS, and
SHIRTINGS.

Of a quality superior to any imported, are in patterning equal.

NATHAN LEVERING,

Agent B. M. C.

No. VI.

From the Boston Gazette, April 27, 1815.

AMERICAN GOODS.

JOSIAH VINTON, Jr. has removed his business from 65, State-street, to No. 60, Cornhill—where he continues to sell American Manufactured Cotton and Woolen Goods on Commission.

He has now for Sale, for Cash or Approved Credit,

20,000 yards Gingham, No. 12 to 30;
5,000 yards Shirtings, No. 9 to 30;
3,000 yards Stripes;
2,000 yards 3 4 and 4-4 Checks;
2,000 yards Chambrays, No. 12 to 30.
15 ps. Bedticks;
1,000 lbs. Cotton Yarn—Threads;
27 ps. Sattinets, some Merino;
Cassimeres—blue Plains.

*** Part of the above will be sold for N. York or Philadelphia Bills.

No. VII.

From the same.

GLASS WARE.

BOSTON and Chelmsford Window Glass of all sizes, from 6 by 8 to 22 by 14, Coach Glasses and Fan Lights, and South Boston Flint Glass Ware, such as TUMBLERS, Wines, Decanters, Pitchers, APOTHECARIES SHOP FURNITURE, Entry Lamps, Electrical Apparatus, Retorts and Receivers of all sizes, Salts, Mustards, Creams, Jellies, Phials, assorted, Watch Crystals, Nursing and Sucking Bottles, globe and straight Lamp Tubes, and many other articles too numerous to particularize, are offered for sale. Having ma-

manufactured during the late war, and now on hand, a large quantity, both of Window Glass and Glass Ware, viz:—

Of Boston Glass.

1000 boxes 6 by 8, 7 by 9, and 10 by 8, with almost all other sizes.

Of Chelmsford Glass.

1500 boxes 6 by 8, 7 by 9, and 10 by 8, and larger sizes.

Of Glass Ware.

From 60 to 80,000 half pint Tumblers,

Cases of quart

do. pint

do. best and Tale Ship

do. Wines, &c. &c.

Making a general assortment of Window Glass and Hollow Ware.

Dealers in the different articles are requested to call and examine. As it respects the quality, the public are acquainted with the superiority of the Boston and Chelmsford Window Glass to any of the kind ever offered for sale, and the Glass Ware is pronounced by judges, not to be inferior in quality and workmanship to any imported.

The Proprietors now offer for sale at reduced prices, and on liberal credit for approved paper, by the large or small quantity, any of the above mentioned articles. For terms, apply to C. F. KUPFER, at the Glass Manufactory, Essex-street, Boston. By whom orders will be executed with all possible dispatch.

N. B. An extra discount will be made to dealers in Window Glass and Glass Ware.

No. VIII.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3 May 1815.

Gunpowder, Hemp, Indigo, &c.

70 kegs best Virginia made Gunpowder

10 tons Country Hemp

10 seroons Spanish Florant Indigo

50 qr Casks Smyrna White Wine

10 pipes London particular Teneriffe Wine

20 boxes Whittemore's Cotton and Wool Cards

Just received and for sale by

TALBOT JONES.

No. IX.

From the Philadelphia Democratic Press, 25 February 1815.

Lancaster Cotton Works.

COTTON YARN.

From No. 5 to 40, Twists and Filling, to be sold at our store in the borough of Lancaster by wholesale only.

Orders addressed to us shall receive prompt attention.

Jacob Miller & Co.

No. X.

From the Albany Register, 17 March, 1815.

Looking-Glasses and Plates.

WINNE & FONDEY,

Have received a large supply of GERMAN and AMERICAN LOOKING-GLASS PLATES, a part of which have been mounted by them in the most elegant manner, and approved fashionable patterns, consisting of

Swelled Pild. Frames, full guilt and ornamented,
Twisted do. do. do.
Plain do. do. and Common of all
the various sizes, from 10 by 8 to 44 by 24 inches.

—ALSO—

A general assortment of plain edged Bird and edged Pillaster and Pillared Mahogany Framed Glasses; Toilette Glasses, of various patterns.

Shaving Glasses, with and without

sliding covers,

German embossed paper Pocket-

Glasses,

do. Statia

} assorted
sizes.

Which in addition to their former stock, renders it better than any ever offered for sale in this place, and will be sold wholesale and retail at the New-York prices.

LOOKING-GLASS PLATES.

Of the different sizes above enumerated, by the single Plate or Box, together with an assortment of GILT MOULDINGS from 1-2 to 6 inches.—Bed and Window Cornishes, and other Ornamental Work, done in the best manner.

No. XI.

From the Boston Advertiser, 21 March, 1815.

Weavers' Shuttles,

R. P. and C. WILLIAMS, No. 8,

State-street, will be regularly supplied with a large assortment of Shuttles, and in a few days will have Pickers and Bobbins—the above articles are made by O. Robinson, one of the first rate workmen, and are MUCH APPROVED OF. Upwards of one thousand of these Shuttles were sold the last year.

No. XII.

From the Baltimore Federal Gazette, 4 May, 1815.

Baltimore, 14th April, 1815.

THE Stockholders of the UNION MANUFACTURING COMPANY OF MARYLAND, are informed that a Dividend of ten per cent. upon the capital stock of said Company, has been declared for the last year, and that the same will be paid to the Stockholders or their legal representatives on or after Monday the 8th day of May next, on which day they will take notice, the last installment on the augmented stock becomes payable.

They are likewise informed, that an election for twelve Directors, for the ensuing year, will be held at the Company's Office, on MONDAY the first day of May next, from the hour of nine, until 1 o'clock.

JOHN HILLEN, President.

No. XIII.

From the same.

Hand and Machine Cards.

The New-York Manufacturing Company

Inform their friends and customers, as also the customers of the late firm of

WM. WHITTEMORE & CO.

BOSTON,

that having extended their MACHINERY for STICKING all kinds of CARDS, they keep constantly on hand a regular supply of

Wool and Cotton Cards, Tow Cards
Horse Cards, Clothiers and Hatters Jacks
ALSO,

Machine Cards,
Fillitting and Comb Plates,
all warranted of superior quality. Orders
punctually and faithfully executed on liberal terms.

TIMOTHY WHITTEMORE,
Agent N. Y. M. Co.

The Subscribers, agents of the New York Manufacturing Company, are constantly supplied with an assortment of the above-mentioned Cards.

MITCHIL & SHEPPARD,
No. 20, Cheapside.

No. XIV.

From the Boston Advertiser, 21 March 1815.

Factory Goods—Wool.

FOR Sale at the American Goods Commission Store of Z. HAYDEN, No. 3, Cornhill-square, by the piece or package, on the most reasonable terms,

8000 lbs Cotton warp Yarn,
150 do knitting and filling do.
16000 yards Shirting and Sheeting,
22000 do Gingham, Stripe and Chambray,
2500 boxes Cotton Balls,
300 lbs Cotton Thread,
12 Bolts Cotton Duck,
1000 lbs Cotton Warp, 1st quality, MADE PARTICULARLY FOR SATINET,
Bedtickings and diaper,
40 peices Flannel, 150 do Satinet,
100 do plain Cloth,
80 do Broad Cloth, various qualities,
4000 yards Tow and Linen Cloth,
2600 pair women's, misses' and childrens Shoes,
1 case Bengal Indigo,
Bales Sea Island Cotton,
Boxes Starch, &c. &c. ALSO,

WOOL.
6400 lbs pelt Wool, 1st quality,
3500 do do do 2d 3d do,
2800 do common fleece do,
500 do half-blood Merino do,
800 do 3-4 and 7-8 do do,
1300 do full blood do do.

No. XV.

From the Philadelphia Democratic Press, 25
February, 1815.

A Paper Bundle,

Containing a few Prints of the Bush Hill Floor Cloth Manufactory. They being of no use to any person but the owner—will be thankfully received at either of the above places.

Isaac Macauley.

No. XVI.

From the Boston Repertory, 23 March, 1815.

WOOL

Burroughs & Perkins,

No. 73, State Street,

CONTINUE to receive on consignment, MERINO, MIXED and COMMON WOOL, and advance cash thereof.

They have now for sale, the Fleeces of THE BEST Flocks in this country, viz.

Full blood Merino,
Half and 3-4 blood do.
And Native Wool.

N. B.—Consignment of Wool, WITH ORDERS TO SHIP TO ENGLAND, attended to by them with punctuality and dispatch.

No. XVII.

From the Baltimore Federal Gazette, 4
May, 1815.

PATAPSCO COTTON.

FACTORY.

Near Ellicott's Mills,

IS now in complete operation. The excellence of the machinery and improved plan of the works, will enable the proprietors to furnish.

COTTON YARN,

Of the best quality on as cheap terms as any in the U. States,

The Warehouse for the sale of Yarn is at

NO 140, MARKET-ST.

The store formerly occupied by the Union Manufacturing Company.)

Country Merchants, Weavers, and others, dealing in this article, will find it to their interest to avail themselves of the present extensive assortment, to whom the most liberal terms will be given.

E. GRAY & CO.

No. XVIII.

From the Boston Gazette, 3 April, 1815.

At Private Sale,

St. Domingo Mahogany, in planks and boards, seasoned and fit for use—1000 Chairs, suitable for shipping—20 Bureaus, do.—10 Secretaires, do—50 field Bedsteads, do—200 Looking Glasses, do.

Goods received at all times as above for public or private sale.

No. XIX.

From the same.

A General Assortment of Cut Goods, on hand, which will be sold at Peace prices.

American Manufactured Cotton and WOOLEN GOODS, at the lowest Factory prices, for sale by S. H. BABCOCK, Dock-square, corner of Exchange-street.

No. XX.

FOR SALE,

BY JOHN BRADLEY,

No. 78, Market-street,

PITTSBURG GLASS,

Consisting of

Tumblers, Decanters, &c. &c.

30 Reams of GLASS and SAND PAPER, HARDWARE, CUTLERY, &c. all which he will sell on the lowest terms.

No. XXI.

From the Norfolk Herald, 8 May, 1815.

GUN POWDER.

The Subscriber has for Sale,
80 kegs of Single, Double, and Triple
GUN POWDER,

From Dagent's Brandywine Factory,
and can supply any quantity that may be required.
RICHARD DRUMMOND.

No. XXII.

From the Baltimore Federal Gazette, 4,
May 1815.

Grey Granite Stone.

The subscriber, who has taken for a term of years, the Granite Quarry at Ellicott's Patapsco Mills, is in readiness to receive any orders with which he may be favoured, and which will be executed at a short notice. From the nature of the stone of this quarry, and their length and solidity, they are peculiarly adapted to the following purposes: Columns or Pilasters of any dimensions, Basement Stories or Fronts of Houses, door or window Cases and Cills, and all other purposes for building, where elegance, strength and durability are required. Those unacquainted with the stone, I would recommend to view them in the Cathedral, or the basement story of Mr. W. Lorman's house, or at other places where they had been used in the city. The quality of this stone is such, that it alike resists the effects of frost or time, and retains its original colour and beauty without the aid of paint. Those who are unacquainted with me will please to enquire of Robert Cary Long, James Carey, Elias Ellicott, or Isaac M'Pherson.

BENJAMIN BROWN.

No. XXIII.

From the same.

MACHINE CARDS.

The subscriber is appointed Agent for vending Machine Cards, manufactured by Beckley and Springer—which will be found on trial, equal to any made in the U. States. All orders left with Hugh Balderston, Hanover-street, nearly opposite J. Gadsby's—Jonathan Balderston, No. 12, S. Charles-street, or with myself, will be executed with the least possible delay, and on the best terms.

ELY BALDERSTON,
No. 61, Smith's wharf,

Who has in Store,

Cheese in casks; Crum Creek Scythe Stones,
Mould Candles, Tow Cloth, Cut Nails, &c.

No. XXIV.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3 May, 1815.

WOOD SCREWS.

CHARLES SCHUDDER,

No. 24, State Street—BOSTON,

AGENT FOR SELLING.

**AMERICAN PATENT WOOD
SCREWS,**

Inform the importers of Hardware in Baltimore, that he can supply them with that article at a less price than they can be imported, and solicits their orders, which they may depend upon having faithfully and promptly executed.

Boston, 30th March, 1815.

The Subscribers have just received several Casks Wood Screws from the agent in Boston, which are offered at private sale, at their

auction store, Market-street, corner of N. Charles-street, where orders for any particular kind or quantity of the above article are received.

M. POOR & J. HASTINGS.

No. XXV.

From the Boston Advertiser, March-21, 1815,

Factory Shares for Sale.

FOURTEEN SHARES in the Danvers Cotton Factory Company of 500 Dollars each—the property of the Corporation—is divided into 60 Shares, and consists of the Factory Building, 60 by 32 feet, containing 600 Spindles and the preparations of Cotton Machinery, and a few for Woolens, which latter the company contemplate considerably to increase—Besides the Factory they have a Smith's Shop, a Dye Shop, Barn and two Dwelling Houses, and another Dwelling House building—The Water privilege is probably the best in the county, and sufficient in the dryest season. The Shares will be sold together, or any less number, as the purchaser may choose, and further particulars may be known by applying at the Factory, or forwarding a line to the Post Office in Salem, directed to

EBEN. FELTON.

No. XXVI.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3d May, 1815.

COTTON YARN.

The customers of the UNION MANUFACTURING COMPANY OF MARYLAND, and the public in general, are informed that a general

Assortment of Cotton Yarn,

may be had at their warehouse, No. 152, Market street, next door to the Bank of Baltimore, at the lowest Peace prices.

No. XXVII.

From the same.

Shaw & Tiffany,

HAVE Removed to Store No. 238, Market-street, (nearly opposite Sharp-st.) where they have for sale, and are receiving from the Manufacturers, a complete assortment of

American Cotton Goods.

—ALSO—

A few pieces sup. fine Black Broad Cloths
6 boxes Cotton hand Cards, Nos. 8 and 10
20 pieces Russia Sheerings.

No. XXVIII.

From the New York Columbian, 1st April,
1815.

AN Englishman of sober, steady habits, for an adequate compensation, would undertake the entire care and trouble of a **WOOLEN MANUFACTORY**, having followed it for 20 years in England; or any person desirous of manufacturing, and could advance a sum of money sufficient, may hear of a partner who would take the entire management of the business. Enquire of the printer.

No. XXIX.

From the Albany Register, 17th March, 1815.

An Interesting Bargain, FOR SALE,

THE equal, undivided, one half part of the establishments at the State Bridge, or the passage of the Great Western Turnpike over the Schoharie river, 26 miles west of Albany.

The river here divides the Eastern from the Western District. On the eastern bank, in Dutchessburgh, are situated--

A Saw Mill.

A Grist Mill—with 3 runs of stones, and the improved movements of Mr. O Evans, and others. The horizontal water wheels by Mr. Burr, and never obstructed by ice, and but little affected by high water.

Two new Carding Machines, for fine and coarse wool.

A Mill House.

On the western bank, in Schoharie, are--

A Fulling Mill—rented out for a short term, unexpired.

A Paper Mill—occupied by an incorporated company for a term, and then reverts to the owners. 500 dollars of the present stock passes with the sale.

A Distillery—by steam.

A House and Store—and a house appurtenant to the fulling mill.

A stone wall 4 feet thick, 14 feet high, and about 130 in length; parallel with the creek is a foundation for any future erections of machinery, which the interests of the owners invite them to place there.

The situation of these works upon a road so frequented, and a stream so abundant, can always secure the wide circle of custom, with which they are now favoured. The revenues and expenditures will be satisfactorily made known to the purchaser, and comparing them with the price asked, no speculation like it can be offered in that country. Enquire of

H. W. Starin & Co.

State Bridge, Schoharie.

All the advertisements, that follow here, are taken from one single paper, the **PITTSBURGH COMMONWEALTH**, dated 11th March, 1815.—Pittsburgh is in the State of Pennsylvania, and, I believe, at nearly 300 miles distance from the Atlantic sea-shore. Read here, then, and see what America can do. If the poor little Lawyer whom Bellingham killed had seen this, he would hardly have claimed so much credit for magnanimity, when he said that it was not the intention of his Majesty's Government to DESTROY America.

No. XXX.

PITTSBURGH WIRE MANUFACTORY.

THE subscriber has on hand, and offers for sale, at the Philadelphia prices, with the addition of

carriage, an assortment of WIRE, made of the Juniata Iron, from No. 1 to No. 24, inclusive. Any higher number made to order. He expects that the manufacturers and merchants of the Western Country will give him a portion of their custom, to support a new and expensive establishment.

Square inch Iron will be rolled down for smiths, and other mechanics, at the following prices, viz.

7-8 one dollar per cwt.

6-8 two ditto per ditto.

5-8 three do. per ditto.

4-8 four do. per ditto.

3-8 five do. per ditto.

WILLIAM EIGHBAUM.

No. XXXI.

THE STEAM ENGINE FOUN- DERY.

ON Front-street, behind the Pittsburgh-Steam Mill is now in complete operation, and ready to supply castings of every description, but particularly those in a mechanical line, viz—All kinds of castings appertaining to Merchant Flour Mills, Rolling and Slitting, Forging and Tilting Mills—Fulling and Oil Mills, &c. &c. Sugar Mills, Sugar Boilers, Potash Kettles, Stills, Soap and Salt Kettles.

The Pittsburgh Steam Engine Company.

As usual, carry on the making of Steam Engines of every description. They will also furnish Paper Mill Screws, Fullers and Mill Screws, and all other kinds, of the large order; also Mill Spindles and Rynes, &c. Saw Mill Cranks and large work generally.

No. XXXII.

Steam Fulling Mills. THE PITTSBURGH STEAM FULL- LING MILLS Are now in complete operation.

THE proprietor is happy to inform the public, that he has engaged experienced workmen, and will be able to execute any orders in the dyeing and fulling business, in the best manner and with punctuality and dispatch.

JAMES ARTHURS.

No. XXXIII.

JUST RECEIVED & FOR SALE BY BOSLER & Co.

AT THEIR WHOLESALE AND COMMISSION
WAREHOUSE,

On WATER and FRONT STREETS.

Prime New-Orleans Sugar in barrels,
White Havannah ditto in boxes,
New Orleans Rum, Indigo and Cotton,
Best green Coffee in barrels and bags.
Logwood,
Kentucky Rifle Powder and Bacon.
Mexican Copper, &c.

June 22, 1814.

No. XXXIV.

PITTSBURGH POTTERY.

TROTTER and Co. having established their Manufactory of Queens-ware in Pittsburgh,

now commenced fabricating wares similar to those of the potteries at Philadelphia, take the opportunity to inform the public, that they are ready to execute such orders as they will do them the favor to address to the Pottery, corner of Seventh and Grant-Streets, or to Anthony Beelin and Co. or Richard Brown and Co. where specimens of the ware may be seen.

List of Articles at present Manufacturing.

Wash hand Basins	Coffee pots
Ewers	Tea pots
Chambers	Coffee cups
Dutch jugs	Tea cups
Bowls	Chocolates
Mugs	Sugar basins
Goblets	Butter tubes
Pitchers	Baking dishes

February 11th, 1815.

No. XXXV.
**BROAD CLOTHS
AND
SATTINETTES.**

For sale by George Cochran at his Woolen Manufactory, corner of Diamond alley and Liberty-street, by the piece or yard, as cheap as they can be had in New York, Philadelphia or Baltimore. Also a few Stockingnettes, Worsted, Woolen, and Cotton Half Hose.

G. C. Respectfully solicits the patronage of the public to encourage his Manufactory, and assures those who may wish to purchase, that his cloth is not inferior according to quality, either in colour or durability to that imported from Great Britain.

GEORGE COCHRAN.

February 11, 1815.

No. XXXVI.
Fulling & Wool Carding.

THE SUBSCRIBERS respectfully inform their friends and the public that their works lately erected at the lower falls of Big BEAVER creek, are now in operation.—Being supplied with two pair of fulling stocks and the necessary implements and convenience for dressing broad and narrow CLOTHS, in the best manner; together with two wool carding machines covered with fine cards, calculated for carding merino and common wool, and conducted by experienced workmen—the subscribers are encouraged to solicit a share of the public patronage, and hope to give satisfaction to those who may please to favour them with their custom in the above line of business. Cloth to be dressed, or wool to be carded, will be thankfully received by James Taylor at the Mill, and finished according to directions, with punctuality and dispatch at the customary prices.

Cloth will also be received by George Cochran, at his Woolen Factory in Pittsburgh, forwarded and returned when dressed.

**JAMES TAYLOR,
JOHN WALKER,
M. EVANS,
GEO. COCHRAN, of Rdtf.**

No. XXXVII.
SALT.

A quantity of first quality KENHAWA SALT, all of which he will sell low for CASH.

C. LATSHAW.

No. XXXVIII.

CASH for GRAIN.

ONE DOLLAR and twenty cents for WHEAT—and Sixty-two and a half cents for RYE, given at the PITTSBURGH STEAM MILL.

No. XXXIX.

Settlement of a New Town.

**NEW TOWN OF
COLOMBIA.**

THIS place laid out in a handsome situation, on the bank of the Monongahela River, in Washington County, commanding all the advantages of a rich and opulent country, offers the most flattering prospects to such as choose to purchase lots.

As the improvement of the place is the principal object of the proprietor, he offers inducements which will make it an object for persons to purchase and build.

The prospect of a new county, of which COLOMBIA will in all probability become the seat of justice, and a prospect of public roads leading through this place to all the most important towns, makes it worthy the attention of all classes of mechanics and others.

A STEAM MILL is now erecting and a number of Manufactories in contemplation; there is a grand prospect of its becoming a flourishing place.

As a further inducement to purchase, the proprietor offers to each purchaser, who will build on his lot within one year from the first day of April next, timber for building a frame house 25 by 30 feet, or more, and stone coal for 4 years, gratis.

There are stone quarries within one hundred rods of the town, which purchasers are at liberty to use.

A number of valuable lots are yet on hand and will be sold at private sale on application to Samuel Hughes, of Washington, to James M. Riddle, Esq. and the Editor of "the Commonwealth," Pittsburgh, or to the proprietor on the premises, at which places respectively a plan of the town may be seen.

N. B. Those who have purchased lots are informed that their deeds are ready for delivery.

CHARLES D. HAS.

Here, my Lord, I close my extracts. Instead of 39, I could have made the number 100 or more. But, not being necessary to any rational purpose, I have declined making the list any longer. And, now, leaving your Lordship to pause for a while and to ruminate over these indisputable facts, as they lie heaped up before you, I will, in my next Letter, endeavour to show you how they apply to the subject of our discussion. I am your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER IV.

Intended to show, that so extensive is the growth of American Wool, that some of that Wool is exported to England, and that, though the importation of Wool is great in proportion to the whole quantity used, to impose a tax upon importation would be injurious to the country.

MY LORD,—In proceeding to apply to the subject before us the matter contained in my last Letter, I must beg your Lordship to observe, that it is not only proved, that almost every sort of manufactory was going on in America *during the war*; but, that, as appears from the date of many of the advertisements, if not from all of them, they were neither dropped, nor likely to be either discontinued, or, apparently, to be rendered less active, by the *peace*; all the advertisements being dated *after* the peace was proclaimed in America, and many of them in the month of May.

You see, in No. 33, that *sugar* and *indigo* are produced on the banks of the Mississippi and in the territory of the United States; you know that *cotton* is one of the great staple commodities of Carolina and Georgia; that *tobacco* is the native of Virginia; you see that *hemp* and *flax* are largely cultivated and manufactured; you know, that *Indian corn*, the cultivation of which characterizes the fairest and richest part of Europe, and is the criterion of fertile soil and good climate, is produced in abundance, throughout the whole country, fourteen hundred miles in length; you know that timber is every where in abundance; you see that salt, iron, lead, copper and coal mines, are there, and stone and marble and slate quarries; you see, that machinery of every sort, and worked by every kind of power, is in motion; and, have you still the expectation, or the hope, that America is *dependent on England* for the means of tilling her land, clothing her people, or furnishing her dwellings, or fighting her enemies?

But, the objects more immediately before us are WOOL and WOOLENS.—I have shown, I think, pretty clearly, that there is no reason to expect your hoped-for extraordinary demand for English Wool from the change of affairs in

Europe. And, on what does that hope rest when you look at America? No. II. shows you that *Merino Sheep* are, in flocks in America. And, observe, that Pennsylvania, a very few years ago, had scarcely *any* sheep of *any* sort. The States to the Northward, according to Mr. Livingston's account, abound much more in sheep of all sorts. No. XIV. shows you that Wool, in all its varieties, is a great article of commerce; and, No. XVI. shows you, not only that wool is a great article of commerce, *but that it is sent from America to be sold in England!* You see here, that there are merchants, *who take consignments of Wool with orders to ship to England*; and this is at Boston; not at New York, which State Mr. Livingstone belongs to and resides in. I know, that several cargoes of American fine wool were sent to England more than four years ago. I saw the samples myself. But, this advertisement, which proves the *frequency* of the thing, is worth the personal observation and testimony of a hundred witnesses sworn upon the Gospels.

Now, my Lord, when I come to treat of the extent to which American *manufactures* will be carried in peace, and which will depend, perhaps, in a great measure, upon the laws that shall be passed there, I shall speak with great diffidence; because the subject, on the score of foreign policy, as well as on the score of internal prosperity, demands an extent of knowledge as to the whole of the interests of that community, which it would be presumption in me, or in any man not upon the spot, to pretend to possess. But, with regard to *the capacity of America to grow wool, and export it to England*, I can speak with nearly as much confidence as I should upon her capacity to send us Cotton or Tobacco.

That the soil of America is fertile is well known; and, it has now been proved, that it is well adapted to the breeding and

keeping of sheep. It has been proved, because such numerous flocks already exist. The only question, then, is, whether the American farmer can grow wool *cheaper* than the English farmer, and, from that cause, can afford to sell it at a lower price. Lower it must be sold, in order to open a market for it here, because it must come loaded with the charges of freight, and other expences, from which our wool is exempted. The price, at which the American farmer *does* sell wool, I have nothing to prove; but, I know, that the price of *wheat* is the criterion, whereby to judge of the price, at which he can *afford* to sell wool. Now, we see from No. XXXVIII, that the price of wheat is *one dollar and twenty cents a bushel*. That is to say, a dollar and a fifth. Call it *six shillings* of our money. This is at Pittsburgh; but, it must be a pretty fair average. If, then, our farmers are sinking into ruin with wheat at 9s. a bushel, it is clear that the produce of the earth can be raised *one third* cheaper there than it can here. A third, or $33\frac{1}{3}$ per centum, will, I should suppose, amply meet all charges on a raw-material like wool. So that, at this moment, with our *low prices*, our *ruinous prices*, the American farmer can meet us in our own market, even in the infancy of his flocks.

But, we must not stop here. We cannot stop here. Produce must rise in England, or the taxes cannot be paid. Wheat cannot stand at 9s. a bushel. Upon an average of the last ten years, it has been 12s. a bushel; and, to enable us to pay the taxes, it must go even higher than that. Wool, however, must keep an even pace with the wheat, or wool will not be grown; and, how is it to keep that pace, if importations of "untaxed" wool be permitted, without a tax imposed on it here?

"Well," you will say, "and do I not recommend the *taxing* of foreign wool?" Yes; but, what would that effect? Why, just as much *evil* to the manufacturers of cloth, as *good* to growers of wool? Indeed, in the *end*, it would be an evil to the former as well as to the latter.

But, before I proceed to show to what extent your proposed measure would affect the manufactures, it is necessary to make a few observations as to the relative

quantity of wool *grown* and wool *imported*. You say, that of wool imported, the quantity, in 1789, was 2,660,828 *lbs.* and that in 1814 it rose up to the *appalling* quantity of 15,712,517 *lbs.* I dare say that this statement is correct; because you had the actual account of imports to refer to. As to the quantity of wool *grown in the country*, it is *impossible* for any one to state it with any thing like precision. The wool is not *taxed*; neither the grower nor the dealer nor the manufacturer is compelled to keep or render any account of it. Yet, a writer in the *Courier* of the 8th inst, says that "your Lordship must be *well acquainted with the amount of it*, which, so long since as 1800, was "192,000,000 *lbs.*" Hence he is led to ridicule your alarm at the importation of 15,712,517 *lbs.* in a year.

If this statement of the quantity of the *home growth* were correct, your proposed tax, would, indeed, have nothing in it very serious to the manufacturers. But, besides that it is next to impossible that any one should be able to come at the amount of the home growth, this statement is so monstrous as to shock even the credulity that gives a currency to Moore's Almanack. This gentleman has heard of *millions* so uncountable, that he thinks nothing of hundreds of millions. The average weight of a sheep's fleece is 4 *lbs.* consequently there must be 48,000,000 of sheep in the country, *shorne* every year, or, $4\frac{1}{2}$ to every human being, including the cities and towns. Ewes are, on an average, killed at 4 years old, weathers at 3, and lambs at 4 months. They are, then, killed, on an average, at 29 months old. They live one year before they yield any wool. Thus, for every sheep that is *shorne*, there is one killed in every 17 months. So that, including a fraction, there must be *killed every year*, 34,000,000 of sheep and lambs; or, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to each human being, man, woman, and child, paupers, gypsies, felons and all. The average weight of sheep is about 60 *lbs.* and of lambs about 36 *lbs.* The number of sheep killed far exceeds that of lambs. But, suppose the average weight to be 50 *lbs.* Then there is for each human being 175 *lbs.* of mutton in a year, or very nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. a day, for *beggars, paupers, babies* and all, observe. But this is not all. The neat cattle nearly equal the sheep in

I

amount of meat. The hogs surpass the sheep in this respect. So that here is $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of meat, besides fish and poultry, every day in the year for every human being, sucking babies and all, when it is well known, that *millions* of even the fathers and mothers do not taste a morsel of animal food from mouth's end to mouth's end, and sometimes hardly a morsel of bread, their chief diet being tea and potatoes. What monstrous absurdity!

But, the *wool*! what shall we do with the *wool*? Suppose it all to be made into the shape of broad cloth and that each yard in length requires 3lbs. of wool. It would not require so much, but suppose it did. Here are 64,000,000 of yards in length, and 128,000,000 of *square yards of cloth*. There are 3,097,600 square yards in a square mile. Leaving out fractions, then, here is cloth enough made in *one year*, without the wool imported, to *cover 40 square miles*! The very skins of the animals would cover 10 square miles! If this statement were correct, the idea of hiding the sun with a blanket would not be so very absurd.

We have, then, no means of ascertaining, with any degree of exactness, the quantity of the home growth. But, it is rational to suppose, that the 15,000,000 of lbs. imported, are not less than a *fourth* of the whole quantity of wool manufactured in the country. The amount of *all the woolens* exported last year was £5,600,000 sterling; and, suppose only one *fourth* of the woolens to have been sent abroad, leaving three fourths for home consumption, the whole of the *manufactured woolens* would have amounted to £22,400,000 sterling. If we allow a *third* of the cost of the woolens for the raw material, and put the wool upon an average at 3s. sterling a pound, we shall find that the whole *amount* of wool before it was manufactured amounted to 7,400,000 and some odd pounds sterling, and that the whole *quantity* of it was 54,000,000 of *pounds weight*; which is not *four times* as much as the quantity of wool imported, and which wool, I believe, is *nearly all* of the fine quality.

Whether I am wrong in my supposition that *not less than one fourth* of our

woolens are exported, and that the raw material amounts to *not more than one third* of the price of the manufactured goods, I must leave, as I do with great deference, for the reader to decide; but, I must be very wide indeed of the mark, if the quantity of wool imported does not bear a proportion of, at least, a *sixth* in value to the wool of home growth.

It is clear, therefore, my Lord, that the importation of wool has a very great effect on the price of wool grown at home. But, lay a tax upon wool imported, and the consequence is, *a rise in the price of manufactured woolens*; for, to suppose as you appear to do, that the manufacturer does not *now and always*, upon an average of transactions, *sell at as low a price as he can afford to sell*; to suppose that ever-active and all-seeing *competition* is not sufficient upon an average of years, to apportion with the most scrupulous precision the profits of unfettered trade, is a notion so well known to belong exclusively, and of Right Divine, to the mob, that for any gentleman to attempt to encroach upon it is to set at open defiance every principle of justice and humanity.

The consequences of a rise in the price of manufactured woolens would be, first, a diminution in the consumption at home, unless you could by some sort of gipsy conjuring trick convey the sums into all our pockets necessary to meet the rise of price. The same would take place as to exports. But much *more* might take place as to our foreign trade; for, if you were to prohibit the importation of wool altogether, it would be manufactured abroad; and as *price* is the great and true and everlasting regulator, the moment wool became so cheap elsewhere as to enable other countries to work it up and sell it at a lower price than we, that very moment would the export trade disappear. What is true as to total prohibition is true as to prohibition in part. For though the countries sending wool hither would not, *all at once*, begin to manufacture their own sufficiently to shut out our woolens *entirely*, they would do the thing by degrees; and so truly would the prohibition operate as to leave not a fraction of cause unaccounted for in the effect.

From this general view of this part of the subject, I should now proceed to the particular case of America; but, I must postpone that till my next, in which I hope to be able to shew, not only that no tax

ought to be laid upon imported wool, but that the Corn-Bill ought to be repealed.

I am your most obedient servant,

WM. CORBETT.

LETTER V.

Intended to show, that the situation of England compared with that of America, is such, and the inducements to emigration so great, that, in order to preserve our manufactures, not only ought there to be no tax upon Wool imported, but that the Corn Bill ought to be repealed.

MY LORD.—The situation of England, compared with that of the United States of America, is such as to induce every man to emigrate to them, who professes any degree of knowledge in the making of machinery and manufactures, or, indeed, who possesses enterprize in any art or science, and who is not bound to England by ties which cannot be broken. The number of the former is very great. There are always a great many persons, who wish to better their lot; who aspire to something more than fortune has given them. And the number of these, in agriculture as well as in arts and manufactures, must be greater now than ever, seeing the general depression, which at present reigns in England, with the most gloomy prospect for the future.

Taxes, no matter by what part of the community paid, in the first instance, or in what shape collected, produce, according to their amount, a diminution of the means of living in all those who do not share in them after they are collected. The mob, both high and low, are eternally backing on the government to tax what they call *luxuries*. Just as if the taxes on wearing hair powder, on armorial bearings, and on sporting dogs, did not descend, though the hair-dressers, powdermakers, seal-cutters, dog-breakers, and game-keepers, to the bakers, butchers, chandlers' shops, taylors, shoemakers, farmers and labourers. We have an additional tax on *Bachelors*. "Oh! aye! tax them as much as you please," exclaim the ripened spinsters. But, my good ladies, do you think, that the taking away of a part of their fortunes will quicken their disposition to indulge in that greatest of all *luxuries*, a wife? Do you not see, rather, that what is taken from the bachelor produces a ramification of

privations, some of which reach even you, my dears, who so loudly applaud the tax? Such notions as this, as they have had their rise amidst a belief in hob-goblins; amidst all sorts and sizes of superstition; so they will vanish for ever, when common sense shall indignantly kick down the last jug of Holy-Water, and scatter the last manuals of stupidity and deception to the winds.

Taxes are necessary, in some shape or another, to pay for their services, those who carry on the public affairs, in which I include the business of the public defence. But, if they be carried to an enormous amount; if the book-keepers, the overlookers, &c. of a manufactory, for instance, take away so much that the working people are reduced to half allowance, the former may cut a brilliant figure, but the concern must languish and decay; and the working people will, the moment they are able, endeavour, by a change of place, to better their lot.

This is the state in which England now is, including amongst the working-people, all those who receive no share of the taxes! because they who live upon the proceeds of their private incomes suffer in the same degree, according to their wants, as the poorest labourer suffers. That which is now taken from the people in England forms so large a part of the produce of the estates and labour (including that of professional men, that every one feels the hardship to be most pressing. And, we all know besides, that this pressure is not now to be of temporary duration. We all know now, that the pressure is to last for ever, unless, which is little less appalling, the burden be shaken off by a total overthrow of the funds.

It is frequently said, with what folly or

amount of meat. The hogs surpass the sheep in this respect. So that here is $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of meat, besides fish and poultry, every day in the year for every human being, sucking babies and all, when it is well known, that *millions* of even the fathers and mothers do not taste a morsel of animal food from mouth's end to mouth's end, and sometimes hardly a morsel of bread, their chief diet being tea and potatoes. What monstrous absurdity!

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It is frequently said, with what folly or

impudence we shall soon see, that the *trade* and *navigation* of the country have *kept pace* in their increase with that of the *taxes*. The best way will be, not to show, by reasoning, the utter absurdity of this; but, at once, to go to the government's own documents, laid before parliament, and, from them, to prove its falsehood. In order to take away all pretext for saying, that I am comparing a state of peace with a state of war; that I am reckoning the heavy expences of the present, or late, years, as if they were to last for ever, I will take in no taxes, at present, but such as are *to last for ever*. That is to say, the taxes on account of the *debt*, the capital of which, as all the world now sees, never can be paid off, or diminished, without a *sponge*. Well, then :

In 1789. The taxes raised on }
account of the debt } £.
amounted to } 9,000,000

In 1814. ————— to 43,000,000

Now, if the exported produce and manufactures, if the imports, and if the number of men and boys employed in the merchant service, in 1814, were nearly *five times* as great as in 1789; I should be ready to say, though I see the people sinking every where under the taxes, there is some reason to doubt even the evidence of my own senses. But, the following table, which I take from the accounts laid before parliament, and for the correctness of which table, I am answerable in the eyes of a public who have these authentic documents in their hands, will show what sort of *pace* the *trade* and *navigation* have kept with the taxes demanded by the *debt*. I have taken three periods; but with regard to the first period, I have in my possession no amount of *exports* and *imports*.

YEARS.	Taxes raised on account of the Debt.	Value of Exports of British Produce and Manufactures.	Value of Imports into Great Britain.	Number of men and boys employed in the merchant service in all parts of the British Dominions.
	£.	£.	£.	
1789	9,000,000	—	—	108,962
1800	21,000,000	39,471,208	25,641,053	143,661
1814	43,000,000	36,092,167	30,091,801	172,786

N. B. The account of *Exports* for 1800, embraced produce and manufactures of *Great Britain only*, while that for 1814, included those of *Ireland* also.—The *Imports* from *China* and the *East Indies* are not included in either year, because they are omitted in the account for 1814, in which account it is stated, that the time, allowed by law, for presenting an account of those *Imports* was not arrived.—The merchant seamen include many thousands employed in the *Transport* service.

Now, to make good the assertion, that the navigation and trade have *kept pace* with the taxes paid annually on account of the debt, from 1789 to 1814 inclusive, the number of merchant seamen in 1814 ought to have been nearly 544,810 instead of 172,786. And, to have made good the same assertion, as relating to the period from 1800 to 1814 inclusive, the *Exports* ought to have amounted, in the latter year, to rather more than £78,942,416, instead of £36,092,167;

and the *Imports* ought to have amounted to rather more than £51,282,106, instead of £30,091,801.

This shows how ignorant, or what cheats, those men are, who would persuade, and who do persuade, this "**MOST THINKING** nation in the world," that the *ability* of the country keeps pace with the *demands* of the government.

Here, however, before I proceed to

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compare our situation with that of America, I must observe, that a deduction ought to be made from this fearful amount on account of the *depreciation of our currency*. We pay in paper, which is now, in fact, a *legal tender*. It sometimes requires more, and sometimes less, of this paper to buy a guinea, as bullion is more or less plenty in the market. But, as the average price of a guinea of full weight is about 28s. in paper, let us take the depreciation at a *third*. Then we pay on account of the debt, in the money of 1789, only two-thirds of £43,000,000; or £28,666,666, leaving out the thousands. But this is more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ times what we paid on account of debt in 1789; and, therefore, for the navigation to have *kept pace* with the taxes on account of debt, from 1789 to 1814 inclusive, there should have been in the last-mentioned year, 381,367 merchant seamen, instead of 172,786; and, if we a little mend the matter by this deduction, what a blow do we give to the *concern* on the other side? For, if we insist on a depreciation in the paper to the amount of a third, for the sake of lightening the burden of the taxes, common honesty calls upon us to *deduct a third from the value of the imports and exports*.

Thus, it does not signify much how we turn the thing about. On every side it presents a permanent increase of burden without any adequate increase of *ability to bear*: the certainty of decline thus far, of present distress, and the most gloomy prospect as to the future.

Compared with this situation of England, how stands that of America? But, before I make any observations as to what that situation *is*, it may not be amiss to remind you of what, in 1783, *you* foretold she *would be*. In that year, just after the conclusion of the first American war, your Lordship wrote a book, the three principal objects of which appeared to be, to keep up the spirits of His Majesty under his recent loss of dominion; to keep up the spirits of the nation by causing them to believe, that America was not at all likely to become a manufacturing and commercial country, or a naval power; but that, in order to prevent the latter, we ought to employ all the means

in our power, amongst which means was the *withholding of all protection* of American vessels **FROM THE BARBARY POWERS**, and the *inducing of the other great maritime powers to do the same**.

I will not attempt to characterize this last sentiment, the mind that could have given birth to which must have received appropriate punishment in seeing this same America, not asking *protection* from any of your "great maritime powers;" but sending a squadron of ships of war across the Atlantic, and chastising the Pirates, as far as regards her, into a submission to the principles of humanity.

America has *taxes* and a *debt* too. But, this is not a debt that must *necessarily last for ever*, or be wiped off with a sponge. It is a debt, at this time of £27,000,000 sterling, or 108,000,000 of dollars.

The capital of our debt (of *Great Britain*, for Ireland has her debt too, in an

* The following has been published (Aug. 19) in the London newspapers, as the list of the American Fleet, employed against the *Algerines*.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Independence.....	74	Com. Bainbridge
Washington.....	74	— Chauncey
Guerriere	44	— Decatur
Jaya.....	41	Capt. Perry
Macedonian	38	— Jones
Constellation	36	— Gordon
Congress	36	— Morris
Ontario (ship from } Holland..... }	18	— Elliott
Erie.....	18	— Kidgeley
Epervier (brig)	18	— Downs
Fire Fly	18	— Rogers
Boxer	16	— Porter
Chippawa	16	— Reed
Saranac	16	— Elton
Flambeau	16	— Nicholson
Spark	16	— Gamble
Spitfire	14	— Dallas
Torch	14	— Chauncey
Lynch	14	— Storer

N.B. It was stated in the London Prints about three weeks ago, that our *Prince Regent* had made the *Dey of Algiers* a present of a frigate, completely fitted out with rigging, guns, &c.—It would be mortifying enough if this should have been the frigate, which Commodore Decatur is said to have captured from his Majesty of Algiers.

equal proportion), is now a thousand millions, laying aside odd hundreds of thousands, and out-standing debt. Suppose our population, even now that the foreigners are all gone away, to be 10 millions, here is a debt of £100 a soul, taking in babies, paupers, gipseys, beggars, soldiers, sailors, seapoys, prisoners in jails, and convicts on board the hulks; yea all, from those who feast on strawberries at five guineas a pint, down to the troops of ragged and squalid wretches, whose Sunday's dinner consists of rumps and burrs from the skimmers, or of bullock's liver from the slaughter-house.

The population of America is now, to your great surprise, eight millions; and, therefore, the capital of her debt amounts to not quite £3. 10s. a soul. Whether the skimmers and tanners in that country have now any customers for the fragments of flesh, that have been left by the butcher, is more than I can say; but, if she adopt our system of *poor laws*, and couple with the institution a suitable proportion of *cant*; if she suffer, in any degree, however small, the quantity of relief of the distressed to be regulated by the quantity of godliness professed by the object of that relief; if she do this, or, in the most trifling degree, lean towards it, she will soon find, that a premium for misery and hypocrisy will operate, as all other premiums do, to increase the quantity of that on which it is bestowed. She, when it is too late, will find, to her sorrow, that fleshy bits of skin, and sheep's trotters, and bullock's liver, are not things to be thrown to the dogs. If her people should live to see that day; if they should live to see pauperism established by *law*, they will see all hospitality, all real charity vanish; all the paternal, and filial, and fraternal offices of life exchanged for those of the poor-house; and, instead of an erect and independent race of labourers, proud of their *rights* and *liberties*, they will see a crawling, fawning, canting herd, knowing not the meaning of such words, and, like the beasts of the field, caring for nothing but the satisfying of their hunger, without the smallest regard as to the means. If the people of America should live to see that day; if they should be so foolish as to draw over them, though by slow degrees, this blistered shirt, they will wish, that, as in the days of their bold and hardy fore-

fathers, their country were a howling wilderness.

However, as yet, this greatest of all calamities has not made any very considerable progress in America, and it will be the fault of the people if it ever does. There are no common beggars, no gypsies, few soldiers by profession, at present few unproductive sailors, no seapoys, the prisoners in jails are few, none in hulks. But, be there what there may of these several descriptions of persons, the capital of the debt of America amounts to only 3½ pounds sterling a soul, while that of ours amounts to more than 100 pounds sterling a soul.

Let us now see the *progress* of the debt in America. The latter had the misfortune to *start* with a debt; to set out in the world with a debt upon her back. It was a misfortune, and a very serious one, because it gave rise to a spirit of speculation, of adventure, of gambling, which has been productive of lasting and very mischievous effects. The debt, at the outset, or in 1790, amounted to 72 millions of dollars; and, before the last war, it was reduced to 40 millions of dollars. That war has brought it up to 108 millions of dollars, or 27 millions sterling. But, in the mean while, she has *purchased* LOUISIANA, so necessary, as we have seen, from the affair at New Orleans, to her *security*. And, she has, *some how or other*, got a pretty tolerable *navy*, which, as experience has proved, is not less necessary to that security. I am aware, that she *must* keep augmenting this navy. She will NOW see, that her *bare existence*, as an *independent* nation, depends upon her having, at the end of even *five years*, a navy of at least 30 ships of the line, with a proportionate number of vessels of war of an inferior size. The notion, that it was her true *policy* to keep out of the European quarrels must, by this time, be exploded. It was wise to *wish* it; but wishes and possibilities are different things. She sees what jealousy, what envy, what hatred arising from *fore-boding fears*, she has inspired. She is not to be deceived by the fawning professions, which, for temporary convenience, deep-rooted enmity may assume. She knows that her navy is the infant Hercules, and that it must make haste and grow, or be strangled in the cradle. She knows how easily quarrels are hatched,

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when people have a mind to quarrel. Knowing all this, and a great deal more that might be mentioned, she will not, in peace neglect, one moment, to be well prepared for her defence, and thereby preventing, if possible, the recurrence of war. She cannot hide her situation from the world. She cannot go on growing populous and commercial in a corner. The world sees what she will be, if she be left quiet; and therefore, she may as well begin to prepare without any attempt at disguise. And all this the American government, and the American people, know as well as I know that I am now writing. I most ardently wish, that there may never more be war between England and America; that the people of the two countries may never more be engaged in shedding each other's blood; that the rivalry may in future consist in the arts of peace and in acts of hospitality and benevolence. But, without reference to particular foreign countries, it is *certain*, that, for America to have a chance of remaining at peace, for any length of time, she must be well-armed, and, in all respects, prepared for war.

This navy will be a considerable expence; but, if it were to cost 50 millions of dollars in the space of five years, how amply would that cost be compensated by the preventing of a war with any power in Europe? Yet, even this expence, which I grant *must* be incurred to render the country *safe*, would carry the taxes to a mere trifle compared with ours, and

would, besides, be met by a more than proportionate increase of population, trade, navigation, and all the other sources, whence taxes are drawn.

How *able* America is to accomplish this grand object, and to pay the interest of her debt, and even to clear it quite off, at the same time, will appear upon comparing the increase of population and commerce with that of her debt.

My materials for doing this are not so ample as I could wish; but, I think, they are sufficient for the purpose. In 1790 the Debt of America was 72 millions of dollars; her population less than four millions: and her exports, domestic and foreign, 19 millions of dollars in amount. In 1800, her population exceeded five millions; her exports 69 millions; and her debt was 82 millions of dollars, she having in the mean while, built, fitted out, and manned, several frigates and other ships of war. In 1810, her population rose to more than seven millions; and her debt sunk down to less than 60 millions of dollars; but her exports fell off to 60 millions of dollars, owing to causes resembling war. Now her population must exceed eight millions; her debt amounts to 108 millions; but, then, she has, during the last period, *purchased Louisiana and acquired a navy of 81 ships of war.* What she will naturally be, at the end of a very few years, I cannot say; but what she is now, compared with what she has been, the following table will partly clearly show.

YEARS.	Population.	Amount of Exports of Domestic Produce and Manufactures.	Amount of Exports of Foreign Products and Manufactures.	Total Amount of all Exports.	Annual interest of the Public Debt.
		Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1790	3,929,326	—	—	19,012,040	3,611,865
1800	5,303,666	—	—	69,366,000	4,100,083
1810	7,239,303	36,321,000	24,116,000	60,437,000	2,689,110
1815	8,208,021	—	—	—	5,431,930

N. B. The population of 1815 is computed. The increase from 1810 to 1815 is supposed to have been half as great as that from 1800 to 1810.—The cause of the falling off in the Exports from 1800 to 1810 was, the sort of *half war* that was going on at the latter period. Our Orders in Council had produced the Non-importation and Embargo measures, which, of course, diminished the Exports by, probably, nearly one half.

Without pretending to ascertain and to state *precisely* what the exports of the United States *now* amount to, it is very clear, that the *capacity of America to bear* has far exceeded any *increase in the demands of the government*. Her exports of domestic produce and manufactures can, at this time, hardly amount to less than 60 millions of dollars, or 15 millions of pounds sterling; so that, if we regard (as our ministers always pretend to do) the amount of exports as the criterion of the capacity to pay the interest of debt and other taxes, here is America with 15 millions of exports and an interest of debt of £1,357,982; and Great Britain with an export (including Ireland) of £36 millions, and interest of debt of £43,000,000.

But, let us put America in the *worst possible light*, in order to build upon nothing in the way of conjecture. Let us take her exports *now* to be no more than they were in the time of embargoes, orders in council, &c. Even then she has an export of domestic produce and manufactures of 9 millions of *pounds* to set against our 36 millions. Thus, even in this worst of all possible lights, she will stand, compared with England:

	Export.	Interest of Debt.
England —	£36,092,167 —	£43,000,000
America —	9,080,000 —	5,431,000

Having thus put the matter in a light not to be misunderstood, and to leave no possible ground for cavil, I venture to offer as an opinion, that *peace*, which will infallibly give new wings to American commerce and navigation, will clip the wings of English commerce and navigation. Great part of what has lately swelled out the latter, consisted of *Transports* in the pay of the nation, and did, in no wise whatever belong to *commerce*, and form no part of the means of bearing taxes. We have already seen crowds of sailors going to the Admiralty to complain of *want of employment*. They have been to the *Lord Mayor of London* on the same errand! As if he could create commerce! As if he, though a very loyal man, could find work for them, or cause bread to descend from the clouds. Is this the case in America? Oh, no! There peace makes the wharfs full of business. Every man and thing belonging to the sea is called for from twenty voices at once. It

is said, that, in order to procure the chance of employment for our native sailors, all *foreign* sailors are to be *sent home*. Those in our *Navy* may be thus disposed of; but, a law must be passed before merchants can be compelled to prefer ours before foreigners; and a law, too, precisely opposed in principle to the laws already in force; and, even in the case of the *Navy*, violating the principles of common justice, seeing that our laws make *British subjects* (as far as rights and privileges go) of all *foreign mariners* who may have been a certain time on board of English ships. “Every *foreign sea-man*, who, in time of war, serves *two years* on board a *British ship*, is *ipso facto* NATURALISED.” This is the *LAW*; and, therefore, if it be true, as the newspapers tell us it is, that the government is going to *send home* all the foreign seamen to make room for the employment of our own, it is going to do a deed, which I will leave your Lordship, or any body else to characterize; for I will not beggar my sentiments by doing it in the way in which alone I should dare to do it. But, if this deed were to be done. If it were to take its place in the list of the deeds of 1815; the consequence would be, that the seamen, thus *sent home*, would be ready to man the ships and *on the commerce of other countries*, who will, now that the seas will be open again, stand in need of them.

Peace, so far from *reviving* commerce, will, in all human probability, have a contrary effect in England. The late wars have been different in their effects on commerce from former wars. They swept the sea of all commerce but our own. They made all the world tributary to us. The profits of the world's commerce centered here. By the means of our loans and taxes we obtained a force sufficient to effect these purposes. But, this cannot continue in *peace*. Other nations will have each its share of commerce. Our *Navy*, withdrawn from the Ocean, will leave the nations of the world at liberty to communicate with each other. And, as every ship of ours must sail loaded with a part of our debt, other nations will be able to sail and carry goods cheaper. If we attempt to prevent this by *force*, it is war again. More loans. If we remain quiet, we sink in the general scale, and



particularly with regard to America, which must keep rising in the commercial scale.

As to Manufactures, whether the government of America will pass laws to protect their own against ours I know not. That will depend more upon its view of *political* effects on a larger scale than that of mere custom-house calculations. But, it is pretty certain, that something will be done in this way, as the President recommended it in his last message to the Congress. So that our manufactures, going loaded with their full share of our erroneous and everlasting Debt, together with freight, insurance, and shipping expences, and having to encounter a pretty heavy duty in America, must, even as things now stand, have a hard struggle to make their way to any great extent. At any rate, they will go upon a very different footing from that on which they formerly went. And yet you would lay a tax upon the *wool*, of which the principal of manufactures is made. And you applaud the tax upon *Corn*, which tax enhances the wages of the man who makes the woolen goods. Yes, such is the state of things, in which you would adopt measures to make woolens higher in price than they now are.

The inducements to migrate to America are so great, that every thing should be avoided which tends to discourage the manufacturers at home. You will say, that there are *laws* to punish those who *entice manufacturers to go out of the kingdom*, and also those who attempt to *export machines*. What use these laws are of your Lordship will easily guess, now that you have seen so many *machines* at work in America. In 1811, I told your Lordship that this would be the case. I was, at that time (Nov. 2, 1811) endeavouring to prevent the war; and, in answer to those who pretended to laugh at the effects of an Embargo in America, I made the following remarks, now well worthy of being called to mind.

“In the articles, upon which I have been observing, mention is made of a design on the part of the American Government to *lay an Embargo*, at which measure our writers affect to laugh. They say that America has tried it be-

fore, and was glad to abandon it.—
“They do not advert to the change that has since taken place in the situation of America; they do not perceive, that, since the year 1807, America has reared manufactories nearly equal to the supply of her own wants. Lord Sheffield, at the last *Lewis Wool Fair*, fell into the same mistake. He there told his hearers, that America must deal with us for cloth; that she could obtain it in no other country? that, if she excluded our woolens *for a year or two*, she must make up for it by larger importations afterwards. How deceived he was! How little did he know of what had taken place in America during the last four years! How little did he know of the immense quantity of woolens, since that time, fabricated in the American states! The present non-importation law will tend to increase the manufacturing establishments in America; manufacturers will follow the manufactories; and capital will follow too, where capital is wanted. Of the raw material America will have a superabundance, and manufacturers are soon taught.—The following paragraph from the *Times*, three days ago, will afford a specimen of what is, and long has been, going on: ‘Yesterday s’evenight a discovery was made at Liverpool, which is of considerable importance to our manufactories. In consequence of private information received by Mr. Miller, Superintendent of the Police, at Liverpool, that a man of the name of Hugh Wagstaff had arrived in Liverpool from Manchester, for the purpose of conveying implements used in manufactures to America; Mr. Miller found Wagstaff out, and watched his movements. He observed him go several times on board the American ship called the Mount Vernon, bound to New York. The information Mr. Miller had received stated, that the implements were in boxes; and yesterday s’evenight he observed Wagstaff assisting in loading a cart with boxes, and then watched them to the water-side, and continued his observations till he saw some of the boxes put on board the Mount Vernon; the offence not being complete till the boxes were put on board. Mr. Miller then took Wagstaff into custody, and seized twenty-three

“boxes. On opening them, they proved
 “to contain *spindles, which are used in*
 “*the spinning of cotton.* The prisoner
 “was taken before James Drinkwater,
 “Esq. the Mayor, and has been committed
 “to Lancaster Castle, for trial at the en-
 “suing Assizes, under the Act of 21 Geo.
 “III. chap. 37.’ Does the reader believe
 “that these spindles would have been pur-
 “chased if there had not been hands in
 “America to use them? The non-impor-
 “tation Act of America would have pre-
 “vented the landing of the spindles; but
 “the shipper knew, doubtless, before-
 “hand, that he could ship them without
 “risk, and that a relaxation of the law
 “would be obtained in his favour.—Well:
 “the spindles will not go in this instance;
 “but, is it to be believed, that preven-
 “tion will take place in all cases? And,
 “if that were possible, what then? Why
 “then the *Spindle makers would go to*
 “the place where spindles are wanted to
 “be made.”

Now, my Lord, who was right and who wrong? I do not know what was done to Mr. Wagstaff; but, I know this, that I have shewn you 600 cotton *spindles* at work in one mill on the Pennepack Creek; and, you may see, that they are an article of *common sale* in that country, whither Mr. Wagstaff, less than four years ago, was shipping them. This shows how utterly impracticable is the enforcement of any such laws. I remember a Yorkshire Clothier, who very kindly called to see me, in Newgate, in 1810, 1811 and 1812, while I was imprisoned for two years for writing about the flogging of the English Local Militia Men, at the town of Ely, under the superintendence of German Troops. To this gentleman I used to forget, that America would soon make her own cloth. He smiled, and said he supposed she would *in half a century*. There are only four years gone yet of the half-century. I have forgotten his name; but he has not forgotten mine; and, if he will write to me, when he comes to London again, I will send him up my Albany suit of clothes, that he may judge how long it will be before his half-century will expire.

Nevertheless, I suppose, that a great deal of woollen goods will still be exported to America from England, unless new obstacles are created. But, it will, perhaps, require but very little to turn the balance

against us. Beyond a *certain price* we cannot go, as it is now evident, for it is now *proved*, that America can, and does, make large quantities of woollen goods of all sorts. Let her demand diminish much and the manufacturers will follow. They will go, and they must go, where they are wanted; and, besides, by going thither, they pay off their share of our Debt; or, which is the same thing to them, they leave us, who remain, to pay the interest of it, *till they come back*.

As to *working* manufacturers, they follow each other like the sheep of a flock. One goes; he writes home to another, that he may dine every day upon good meat, and once a week, at least, upon turkey or goose. Away goes another; and so on. And, the worst of it is, that the young, strong, unmarried and *enterprising* go, leaving behind those who are aged, feeble, timid, or encumbered with numerous families. Those who go will be such as have full confidence in their health and abilities; while those that remain will have an eye to the poor-house. As to mechanics and manufacturers, emigration is a sieve, that lets through the grain and leaves the chaff behind.

And *how* is this great evil to be prevented? I do not know, that it is to be prevented at all; but, I am sure it is not to be prevented by laws made to *punish* emigration. If prevented, it must be by affording the manufacturers *full employment at home*; this cannot be, unless we can sell cheaper than any other country; and, if *wool* and *food* be a great deal dearer here than in any other country, it is *impossible* that we can *long* continue to sell cheaper. The obvious conclusion, then, is, that we should do every thing in our power to keep down the price of the raw material, and of the food of the manufacturer; and, therefore, that, not only ought there to be no tax laid upon wool, but that the Corn Bill ought to be repealed.

And now, my Lord, in taking my leave of your Lordship, suffer me to express my hope, that, after comparing the undeniable facts, contained in these letters, with your prophecies of 1811 (See APPENDIX), you will resolve never to

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prophecy again; or, at least, if you should, that the *Wool-growers* will not again keep their wool, at your recommendation, in expectation of a higher price. Lord Chichester, it appears, told these persons, assembled at Lewes, in 1811, that they were *under great obligations* to your Lordship, without whose information, they would have been *under great difficulty to form a conjecture as to the real value of their wool*. Just as if the market would not have taught them! By following your Lordship's advice, some of them kept up their wool, of which a conti-

nually falling price must have made them sorely repent. The old adage, that "a thing is worth what it will bring," applies to every vendible commodity, to all trades, to all countries, and to all times. The *Market* is the only criterion of value with the trader of sense: other grounds of calculation are left for the visionary and the speculator.

I am your Lordship's most obedt.
and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 18th August, 1815.

APPENDIX.

LORD SHEFFIELD'S REPORT.

Lewes, July 29, 1811

Notwithstanding the unpromising prospect of a good meeting, at our wool fair, on Friday, we never had a more respectable assemblage of the principal wool-growers and wool-staplers. Every room at the inn was filled with company, several of the staplers were from London, Yorkshire, &c. After dinner, the company from the different apartments assembled in the principal room (as many as it could contain) and Lord Sheffield made his annual report from the chair, in the following terms:

"The difficulties I experienced in forming the report on wool, and the woolen manufacture, which I had the honour of submitting to the meeting last year, are greatly increased, and I fear it will prove an arduous undertaking to present a satisfactory statement on the same subject for the present year.

"The continued extravagant conduct of the enemy, infinitely more hurtful to the countries under his protection than it is to us, has greatly deranged trade and intercourse among nations; yet the distress which has fallen on this country, did not arise merely from the efforts of the enemy; much has been done through precipitate and mischievous speculations, as well as by the dissemination of notions, tending to destroy confidence, and to prejudice the credit of the country; for notwithstanding the asserted decay of the

woolen trade in consequence of the war, I trust I shall be able to prove that the export of woolens has increased, and that the consumption at home must also be greater than ever it has been. It will be necessary to remark at some length on the enormous importation for several years past of foreign wool, which, not without reason, has occasioned a great degree of alarm among the wool-growers of the united kingdom.

"In January, 1808, the quantity of foreign wool then in England was smaller than usual; the speculators, some of whom held considerable stocks, purchased every bag as it was offered for sale during that year. Previously to those speculations, Spanish wool sold at the following prices, viz. Leonesas, 6s. 9d.; Segovias, 6s. to 6s. 6d.; and Sorias, 5s. to 5s. 9d.; at a credit of eight months; and in the first six months of 1809, Leonesas rose to 25s.; Segovias, 21s.; and Sorias, 18s. per lb.

"It is said the foreign wools had cost the merchant 10s. per lb. and that they were in the hands of a few men of large capitals.

"Very many who had engaged imprudently in the speculation, were ruined; whereas immense profits were made by those who had purchased at the low prices of 1808, and contrived to sell the whole of their stock at very high prices, and then retired from the market: since that

memorable speculation, Spanish wools have declined gradually in price, the manufacturer having no disposition to buy more than his necessities required, which being less than usual, in consequence of a very considerable suspension of the manufacture, and the importation of wool very much greater than at any former period, reduced Spanish wools to their former prices; and in January and February last, the prices were low. Speculation then recommenced. The purchases of prime qualities in the months of May and June last, have been very great, and Leonesas are now sold readily, at from 8s. to 8s. 6d.; but this advance in prime, has not much affected the inferior sorts. Fully two years consumption is said to be on hand, and the price asked for Segovias is 6s.; and for Sorias 5s. per lb.; and not much is sold even at those prices. But as the prime wools are now taken out of the market, and in the hands of those who will not sell at low prices, the manufacturer of superfine woolen cloths may resort to the next or inferior qualities, which probably will raise their price. At this time the manufacturers in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and their neighbourhoods, are in general employed, and, as it is called, at fair work, on the finest Spanish wools. The consumption of superfine cloths made of that wool, has been almost entirely by British subjects, and no considerable quantity has ever been exported to foreign countries. Superfine woolens are actually scarce, in consequence of the late suspension of the manufacture; but there can be no doubt that this manufacture will resume its former flourishing state, while Spanish wool is at its present moderate price.

“The manufacturer laid on his wares, as usual, double the amount of the rise in the price of the material. Blue cloth rose to 34s. per yard and upwards; but the extravagant price of Spanish wool, and of the cloth, checked the manufacture. There was much more parsimony in the use of it, and inferior cloths were worn. Now the blue cloths which, sold for 34s. are reduced to their former prices, viz. 24s.

“The foreign wool imported in 1810, amounted to 10,931,000 lbs. the greatest importation ever known, except that of 1807. It appears also, that 1,727,000 lbs.

of foreign wool has been imported into England in the quarter ending 5th April last, but that quarter falls very far short of the same quarter last year, which was 4,630,416 lb. Prime English sorted wool previously to the speculation, was generally estimated at half the price of the finest Spanish wool, that is, when the latter was selling at 6s. 9d. per lb. the English wool was worth 3s. 4d. but in consequence of the late speculations, it sold at 6s. Since the great failures among the Wool Staplers, comparatively little was sold till lately, when considerable quantities have been disposed of, at prices however much reduced and lower than they have been during many years; prime South Down in the fleece at from 2s. to 2s. 3d. per lb. The principal growers of English wool, not having sold the growth of last year, there must be a large quantity on hand; there is very little, however, in the hands of the manufacturers, who seldom keep any large stock.

“The Staplers of English wool, although many of them are very wealthy, few have money unemployed, their capital is not at command, it is partly locked up in the estates of those who have suspended payment or become bankrupts, consequently they have not the means of increasing their stock, and the lack of money obliges many of them to sacrifice the stock they have. Nothing has tended more to cripple and distress this description of persons, as well as many others, than the general withdrawing of discounts by all Banks, the result of the publication of the Bullion Committee Report, and the gloom which has operated upon commercial men, has induced them to purchase much more sparingly than formerly.

“As to the state of the woolen trade in Yorkshire, I learn that the stock of unsold goods on hand in the last month, was much greater than usual, that the best sorted English wool, which was lately sold at 5s. 5d. per lb. now sells at 3s. 4d. 6d. and 8d. all the lower sorts are fallen in that district, but as their advance was less, their fall has been comparatively not so great. The best Spanish wool, which was once at 15s. and upwards, is now at 7s. But Spanish is by no means a principal part of the wools worked up in Yorkshire.—We are apt to dwell too much on our export trade to foreign countries; the home market, or the supply of the British Empire, infinitely exceeds the foreign demand, and undoubtedly has greatly increased. Exclusive of

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the consumption arising from an increased population, the circumstance of our having nearly 600,000 men in our armies and fleets, who formerly required comparatively a small part of the woollens now used, for those fleets and armies, must greatly increase the demand for woollens. We have no method of estimating the real amount of the home consumption, but we know it is immense; we therefore are not very essentially dependant upon foreign countries for the consumption of our woollen manufactures, and a very great proportion of what appears under the head of exports, is for different parts of the British Empire.

The official value of woollen manufactures exported last year, viz. 5,773,214*l.* exceeds in value the exports of the year 1809, by 350,000*l.* and those of that year considerably exceeded the exports of the preceding year.—The average exports of the last 40 years, which includes the most flourishing period of our trade, is 4,662,523*l.* considerably more than 1,000,000*l.* below the exports of last year; but these, it should be observed, are the official, not the real value. They, however, answer the purpose of comparison. The estimated real value would probably amount to nearly double. I learn also there is no diminution of the exports of woollen manufacture in the first quarter of this year. The exports of cloth to America in the early part of the present year, were very great, probably in the anticipation of the American prohibition being again enforced; but cautious dealers detained their goods which were not ready in time to reach America before the 2d of February, and have them on hand, whilst those who ventured to ship in our ports till the 1st of February, succeeded in having them received.

“The East and West India demands for woollens are the same as usual, but very little business is doing with Germany, Holland, and the North of Europe. It should be observed, that France at no time took a considerable part of our woollen exports. The average importation of wool in 19 years, ending 1715, was only 869,727*lbs.* and even at that time we considered woollens as our principal and most valuable manufacture. The average importation of eight years, ending 1789 (the commencement of the French Revolution), was 2,660,898*lbs.* The average of eight years, ending 1799, was 4,020,000*lbs.* and the average of eight years, ending 1810 inclusive, was 7,722,029*lbs.* This immense increase since 1789, must of course greatly clash with the essential interests of the landed property of the United Kingdom; and although the prime foreign wools, viz. Leonesas,

even at 6*s.* 9*d.* can hardly interfere with English fine wools at from 2*s.* to 3*s.* yet as a great proportion are the lower wools from Spain and Portugal, which, in consequence of the great failures, have often sold of late for less than the freight and insurance, they not only interfere with the first crosses of the Merino with the British ewes, but also with the prime cloathing wools of English breeds, such as the Hereford and South Down; and the knowledge of the very extraordinary quantity imported, and of the stock of wool in the hands of the growers, has prejudiced so much the sale, that the growers seem entirely at the mercy of the buyers; and the latter are not averse to take advantage of those circumstances, which will tend to keep down the value of wool.

“As it is now demonstrated that we can raise in these islands wool as fine and as well adapted to our purposes as those that are imported, it is a highly unprincipled policy to continue an importation which costs us some millions sterling yearly. And at this time, when we are necessarily so greedy of revenue, a duty of 1*s.* per pound on foreign wools would be supported by good principles, and would have produced last year 546,550*l.* One shilling per pound would check the importation of inferior foreign wools, which principally interfered with the English fine wools, but would not prevent the introduction of the prime Spanish sorts, such as we used to import. The tax would scarcely be felt by those who speculate in that article, and in consequence of the competition, the manufactures would pay little more than he otherwise would do: and as a very small proportion of our manufacture of Spanish wool goes to foreign countries, there can be no objection to the duty on the ground of hurting our export trade. It is a sufficient sacrifice of the landed to the manufacturing interest, to prohibit the exportation of any kind of produce such as wool; but the admission of all wools without paying any duty, to the great discouragement of the growth of wools in these kingdoms, is a sacrifice of essential interests, not to be supported on any principle of justice or policy. The patriotic introduction of Spanish sheep, by his Majesty, and by several spirited individuals, has succeeded more rapidly than the most sanguine has expected, and there is every reason to believe, that the Merino wool of British growth, such as his Majesty, Mr. Tollett, and other gentlemen, have raised, if it were washed and sorted in the Spanish mode, might go to market in competition with the average of the Leonesas or best wools, and the heavy expences of importing wools be saved.

But these exertions must soon decline, if the wool of every part of the world is to be admitted duty free, the wool grower will be obliged to relinquish his present endeavours to improve the quality of his wool, as he finds he cannot have an adequate price, and of course he will aim at an increased quantity, instead of an improved quality; and thus we shall relapse into our former slovenly inattention to the character of our wool.—But to return to the *causes of the dullness of the wool-market*, it may be imputed not only to the overstock of foreign wool, but to the *general distrust so diligently promoted*, to mischievous speculations, and the difficulty in having bills discounted; these have produced many bankruptcies. The *scarcity of gold* is most erroneously attributed to particular operations of the enemy, to the war, and sometimes to the conduct, highly infatuated, of the American States; but it may in great part be imputed to *our own bad policy*, the neglect of encouraging tillage, the suffering it to labour under great expences, permitting the grain of countries comparatively untaxed and untithed, to enter our ports, when the price of grain is too low to pay the farmer his expences. These prevent the growth of a sufficiency of grain, and have entirely put an end to our former export trade in that article, which sixty years ago was very great. It was the deficiency of grain in 1796, far more than foreign subsidies, that drew from this country its gold, and brought on the bank restrictions in 1797; and from that time to this we have imported on an average yearly to the amount of 7,000,000*l.* sterling; which, added to the large sum we pay for foreign wool, accounts for upwards of 10,000,000*l.* sterling, unnecessarily sent yearly out of this country. In addition to this we have perhaps too largely run into the measure of importing prodigious quantities of articles more than we can re-export, they remain warehoused here, free indeed from duties, but they must be, and are paid for by us, and bills on this country are thus increased. These and the necessary supplies of our army and fleet, sufficiently account for the unfavourable state of exchange. The restoration of confidence is principally necessary to maintain a reasonable degree of commerce; but we are liable to such mischievous suggestions, that the rental of England, and its produce and manufactures, are dependant on, and must vary with the price of bullion on the Continent, and on foreign circumstances, a doctrine which can only tend to distress his Majesty's Government, and through it to occasion great confusion and mischief to the country. Too many of us are apt to be misled by insinuations, though superficial and scarcely plausible, and often mis-

chievously intended. It is a false notion that this country, till lately, depended on the precious metals for its circulating medium. Our trade would have been much more limited, if we had not had in aid a great paper currency; and if our coin had not found its way to the continent, I do not know how we should have been able to pay for the immense quantities of grain, wool, and other articles we have imported, and also the freight, and how we could have supplied our armies abroad. The rate of exchange is not affected by the issue of Bank of England paper; and I have little hesitation in saying, that the depreciation of that paper will not take place as long as the immense revenue of this country is received in Bank of England paper at the Exchequer, and the deeming it a legal tender, seemed a natural consequence of the restriction.

"I fear some of these details will appear superfluous, but they are necessary to justify and explain some conclusions that I mean to draw from them.

"That the demand for woollens for the home market is not diminished, but probably much increased, and that the export of them is much increased also.

"That comparatively, with the whole amount of the manufacture, the demand for foreign countries with which we are now at war, was not considerable.

"That it is not the decay of the manufacture, or the want of demand for it, but difficulties respecting money and the great stock of wool in hand, that occasion the debasement in price.

"That speculations in foreign wools, and the extravagant variations of price, have deranged the trade and manufacture of that article; but those wools being now reduced to their former price, and the manufacture of them being principally for the home market, there is little doubt of its being restored to its former state.

"That the staplers of English fine wool, are greatly distressed by the distrust arising from erroneous notions, and by the difficulties of obtaining discounts.

"That the sale of fine English wools is greatly prejudiced by an immense importation of Spanish wool, and by the distressed state of the staplers.

"That the scarcity of gold is not to be attributed merely to the war, to the particular conduct of the enemy, nor to the hostile and unfriendly conduct of the American States, but in a great degree to bad policy in our interior management.

"That through the want of a due encouragement of agriculture and the cultivation of waste lands, this country has paid, during the last 15

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years, considerably more than 10,000,000*l.* sterling yearly, for grain and wool, which might have been raised in the United Kingdom.

"That the great import of grain in 1796, occasioned a drain of gold, much more than foreign subsidies, and in a great degree brought on the Bank restriction in 1797, and that the value of grain imported in the years 1800 and 1801, amounted to 19,000,000*l.* sterling.

"That large quantities of gold coin are not necessary to commerce, as appears from the example, particularly of Holland and Scotland, which countries had a very small quantity of coin in their most flourishing state.

"That the restoration of confidence is more wanted than any other circumstance to promote the woollen manufacture.

"The want of opportunity for enquiry and information, often renders us liable to admit fallacious opinions and suggestions. If the positions I have stated for your consideration, should assist you in the investigation of a subject so very interesting to the country, it will afford me great satisfaction. My wish is, that we may not be led away by incorrect notions of the causes of the difficulties that have occurred. If we see distinctly how they arise, it will prove less difficult to obviate them.

"I now come to the most disagreeable part of my report; the statement of the low prices lately given for fine English wools.

"Hereford fair, the first of this month, was very ill attended, and the several sorts of wool were sold at prices very considerably reduced; the finest wools sold from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 4½*d.* which is nearly one-third less than the price of last year, but very little was sold. There was no demand for the inferior wools; sufficient business was not done to enable the price to be stated, but every thing sold very ill at that fair.

"At Ross fair, on the 20th instant, best ryeland wools sold at 2*s.* 4½*d.* to 2*s.* 6½*d.* which is considered very low, and not much business was done; and at Coleford fair, remarkable for fine wool, the prices from last year, were greatly reduced, and some was sold as low as 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb.

"Shropshire wools are selling from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* in the fleece; these are not much more than half the price they sold for during the speculation.

"In the neighbourhood of Bristol, in the beginning of this month, South Down sold for 2*s.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* Dorset, Devon, &c. 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* long wool 9*d.* and little was disposed of. These very low and discouraging prices of course prevented the owners of the wool from selling; but

Spanish wools are the great article for sale in that district, and its price has already been stated: some English Merino wool, washed, sold at Bristol at the very low price of 4*s.*

"At Dorchester fair, in Oxfordshire, South Down wool, certainly of an indifferent quality, sold for 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. the same as sold last year for 2*s.* 5*d.* The wools of Wilts and Berks, from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 1*d.*; one lot of coarse Leicester and Gloucester cross at 11½*d.* and some Spanish lamb's wool for 4*s.* but almost the whole of the wool offered for sale, notwithstanding the depreciation in price, was sold. The farmers being aware of the utility of the fair, are determined to support it.

"At Thetford fair there was a very large attendance, and it was evident that the Wool buyers were disposed to purchase at 2*s.* 1*d.* Some was sold at that price; but little business was done in the dinner-room.

"In Suffolk only 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. is talked of for Norfolk and South Down wools; but it is only little farmers that have sold any. The great farmers consider the price unsettled, and the demand so trifling, that they do not sell at all.

"In parts of Staffordshire, where wool is grown about the quality of untrindred Herefordshire, and full as good as the South Down, some has been sold at 2*s.* and 2*s.* 1*d.* about a third less than last year.

"I learn that the great sale for wool in Ireland was not to take place till the 23*d.* of which we could not yet have any account; but it is expected there will be a ready demand and good prices, at least for the best lots. The prices of the common cloathing wools of an inferior quality have been from 1*s.* 7*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* per lb. and from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.* for wools of the first cross between Wicklow and South Down: so much have the native breed been improved by crossing with South Down Rams.

"I have confined myself, principally, to the fine cloathing wools, but as to the low-priced English wools, I understand they have been bought up in many parts of the country as freely as usual.

"With a view of obtaining the best information in my power, I have engaged in a very extensive correspondence, and I have collected a great number of the best documents that could be acquired; I have not made use of any information but that on which I was satisfied I might depend, and the authorities are as respectable as any possibly can be. I have examined with great care all the details, and I have made a selection of what appeared consistent and what I conceived might be useful both to the buyer and the seller.

The information I have received, shews that so little business has been done, that no fixed price can be stated. In many parts, the dealers had not come into the country as usual, but the price is certainly rising, and considerably; and it is a general opinion that it must and will speedily rise higher, and that credit is in a considerable degree re-established. There is an expectation that some ports which are now shut, will be open to us, and that when the check which has taken place in consequence of the late derangement is at an end, the wool will be required at its former prices. It is known that, until very lately, no wool was sold except by the necessitous, that the Wool Staplers have supplied the manufacturers from their old stores, which must now be much exhausted; that the manufacturer draws his supplies monthly, and sometimes weekly, and seldom has any large stock in hand; and it is well known that the embarrassment of the Staplers is greatly increased by the difficulty of obtaining discounts; that under these circumstances, the growers of fine wools, in all the principal districts, had no expectation of a sale at present, the price being inadequate to its value, that they concluded on keeping it, perhaps, till the two years' stock supposed to be in hand, is exhausted. The fair of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, where inferior wools were sold, is the only exception that has come to my knowledge.

"It is the opinion of many, that there is no more wool now in the hands of the growers than there used to be in those of the Staplers; but I conceive it probable, that the late good prices for fine wools may have increased the growth of them considerably; and that if the Legislature should not give the country that protection to which it is entitled, by adequate duties on the import of foreign wools, it is certain that such immense importations must utterly put an end to the growth of fine wools in the United Kingdom.

"As to the price that should be accepted for our wool, it is very difficult to give an opinion. I have stated all the facts that appeared to me worth the attention of the meeting, and notwithstanding the home consumption and the exports are both increased, perhaps in consideration of the state of the trade, and the market being overstocked with Spanish wools of all kinds, it may be advisable to take from 2s. to 2s. 4d. per lb. for the best South Down; and this reduction I am sure is full as much as the times require."

The meeting appeared very much satisfied with the Report. Lord Chichester proposed the health of Lord Sheffield, and the thanks of the company for the useful information, and comprehensive view he had given of the whole subject, observing, that without the advantage of the information Lord Sheffield had yearly communicated to the meeting, they should have been under great difficulty to form a conjecture of the real value of their wool, and of the state of the trade. The wool buyers acknowledged the fairness and correctness of the statement; they said they had suffered so much, that the trade could not afford even the reduced prices proposed by his Lordship, and they alluded to the *Non-Importation Law of the American States*. Lord Sheffield insisted that the home consumption, and the export trade, being both increased, there was no ground for a reduction of the price given of late years for the South Down wool, except that of the market being overstocked with foreign wools. That the reduction he proposed was from 10d. to 1s. per lb. nearly a third; and that previously to the late speculation, the best had sold at 3s. 3½d. per lb. that the manufacture had been raised upwards of a third per yard, but that the average between the low and the high prices did not justify a rise of more than 1s. 8d. per yard; that he was satisfied that if a non-intercourse with the American States should continue, for a time, through a partiality for France, on the wrong-headedness of a party in the American States, it will not be general. The people of that country will not go naked through their affection to the French, or enmity to this country; and whatever they can pay for will find its way to them, and if they do not take any thing from us this, they will another year, and thus, on an average, it has always been found, they have taken nearly the same quantity. It does not appear that they can get cloathing from any other country at present, nor will it be possible for them, for a long time, to manufacture sufficiently for themselves; and this is most certain, that they cannot get payment for their produce or merchandise but through this country, and that the United Kingdom can get every article of the American States' produce or merchandize, full as good and cheap from other countries. Lord Sheffield added, that at all events it would be advisable to keep the wool if they could not get 2s. 3d. for the best lots.